1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

not illegally fishing and that they were not stealing from the reserves. Incidents of this period are told in the stories of Taiva and Kapeiu, and in the story of the *pule pae* (pp. 367, 395).

Numerous references in the stories and traditions of the island show that stealing from the reserves was an ever-present problem that challenged both supernatural and secular supervision of these reserved areas. The only major sin in Pukapukan society seems to have been stealing from the reserves; beside this, all other types of antisocial conduct become mere peccadillos. Where the law breaker meekly accepted punishment, secular or supernatural, all was well, but a thief surprised by a guard and resisting arrest either in shame or in desperation might be killed outright in the succeeding brawl. Several ancient graves on Motu Ko are still pointed out as the graves of thieves who were surprised on the reserve and killed.

TALO BEDS

The center of the reserve of Uta is a communal talo bed controlled by the village of Loto (pl.1,*B*). This large area is subdivided into 11 smaller areas (*ni lalo*), named after nine land divisions in the reserve. There are four similar *ni lalo* in the reserve of Niua. The people of Ngake have more than 15 large talo cultivations on Motu Ko.

Tradition states that the main talo beds on Wale were formed originally by Tumulivaka, son of the god Matuliki. Tumulivaka became troubled in his heart at the number of gods who were taking up residence on Pukapuka. He wished to be separated from the gods, so he stood at Te Auma, the northern point of Wale, and stuck his foot in the sand. This made a big depression or channel in the land from Te Auma to the pond, Te Vaitase, in Ngake village, and drawn to the sea. As this follows the line of the present talo beds, it is common to refer to these beds as Te Akanga-vae (Striking-of-the-foot). Matuliki with his wife and the gods lived on the western side of the division, *te mauli tuyuma*, so called because it faced the setting sun, while Tumulivaka and his sister, Te Matuliake, lived on the eastern side, *te mauli tuvaka*. As the island became more populated, this natural excavation, widened and deepened in places, was used for talo beds.

It is probable that the first migrants to the atoll found natural hollows in the land, caused by wave action when the atoll was being built up above sea level, and used these hollows as the basis for the talo beds. Successive generations continued the work of excavation, no light task with coconut shells, coconut baskets, and digging sticks as the only implements. Subsurface water seeped in and rain water helped to rot the artificial fill of dried coconut midribs, *hotuwa* ferns, and other plant material into a humus soil, which became in time excellent soil for talo cultivation. The results of the excavations are seen in the raised embankments (*tua motu* or *tua ni*) which follow the line of the talo beds and divide one bed from the next. That natural hollows were first used as beds is indicated by hillocks about 40 feet high running beside some beds. It is impossible to imagine that

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

these hillocks were raised as the result of human excavations with such primitive implements.

Traditions state that the talo beds on Motu Ko were started by the migrants from the legendary land, Yayake, and were continued later by the Pukapukans after the people of Yayake were all killed. Both on Wale and on Motu Ko, excavations continue to this day. The beds that a man digs out are his own property during his life; on his death they are passed on down the paternal descent line. Picks and shovels borrowed from the resident agent help to render excavation today less laborious than it must have been in earlier times.

The village-controlled talo beds (*mota*) are separated into three divisions, one each for the men, women, and children of the village. Each year the number on the village rolls is altered through birth, death, the addition of those attaining sociological adulthood, and affiliation (*tau*) of new members; and a redivision is made of the beds of the members of each class on the village roll. The shares of dead adults are taken by new adults (*wakatasi* and *wakawawine*), whose shares in turn are given to new-born children. This redivision (*katikatinga*) is made by a village meeting at the talo beds. All attend, even children, as a matter of course. The argument, discussion, and division are carried out by the guard and elders of the village; sitting on a near-by hillock, the others watch and assist with free advice and witticisms.

The new boundaries are marked by stones and coconut midrib butts. These soon fall down, but not before the new divisions have been memorized. The actual size of the village allotments varies somewhat from year to year, but in general a piece of land about 3 yards square is the average size of the division for man, woman, or child. Twice a year all the village women gather leaves and plants to fertilize the beds. Each adult cultivates his and his children's land how and when he pleases. The guards inspect the reserve land beds each month and fine each cultivator who has allowed his land to get weedy. The appropriate fine of three pennies or six mature coconuts is kept by the guards for their trouble in levying and collecting it.

The system is flexible and seems to work well. Each household receives an amount of talo land commensurate with its size. The system insures that none shall starve while others hoard up lands they cannot cultivate. Supervision by the guards keeps the land in good condition. The talo beds that a household derives from these village lands are supplemented by lands owned through lineage descent.

Patrilineal Lineage Property

Lands within village boundaries not controlled by the village unit are controlled by the paternal and maternal descent groups. On Wale, each paternal lineage (*fo*) controls a section of land (*kanu*) of indeterminate

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

504
285

Canoes are bailed dry and excess moisture is wiped out with wringers of coconut fiber. They are covered with old coconut-leaf mats (*pola*), unplaited dry coconut leaves, and pieces of pandanus matting. This canoe covering is termed *kaukau lama* or *tapola*. Coconut-leaf butts and lengths of timber are leaned against the covering to prevent its blowing away in the wind.

Formerly canoes were never anchored with a cable to prevent them from drifting. A stick, called *iki tawia*, was driven into the sand of the resting place of the canoe just forward of the stern cross boom on the port side of the canoe between the hull and the longitudinal spar. This served to anchor the canoe securely because the top end of the stick projected well above the cross boom.

Cultivation and Harvesting

262
824
241

The vegetable foods of the Pukapukans are limited to coconuts, talo, *pulaka*, bananas, and pandanus. Today a few papayas and limes grow on Motu Kotawa. Coconuts and talo were and are the staple vegetable foods; the coconut is immeasurably the more important. All parts of the coconut tree were used for food as well as clothing and sennit; its value led the people to study every phase in growth of fruit and tree. Any Pukapukan can distinguish stages in the growth of the nut by a glance at a tree, however high; and he will climb only that tree which has on it the particular fruit for his purpose.

Coconut

245
539
171
773

The origin of the coconut is told in the following Pukapukan version of a widespread Polynesian myth.

Mauieuli and Mauiepopo were a Pukapukan man and wife. Mauiepopo conceived a child by her husband and, as is the habit of women at this time and in this condition, she longed for special and strange foods to eat. She had tasted everything that her husband could bring her, but still she longed for other foods. Her husband fished and fished and brought her home his catch, but she refused to eat it, saying, "This fish smells rotten to me. Take it away. I do not like it. Go fishing again and bring me some other fish." So he went fishing again, and this time brought home some sweet fish, fat and delicious. But again his wife refused to eat, saying, "This fish is too sickly sweet. I don't like it." This went on for many days, the husband procuring all kinds of new fish, the wife refusing them all, until he was worn out with his toil, while his wife pined away for food. At last he said to her, "Tell me what kind of fish it is that you long for, and then I will try to bring it to you." She replied, "There is one fish only that I desire and that is a piece of the *tuna* eel."

The man got his bait and hooks and went to the hole of the *tuna*. He baited his hook and threw it into the hole, but the *tuna* would not bite. He tried many kinds of bait fish in turn but with no luck. At last in despair he tried a bait of flowers and leaves, but still the *tuna* would not bite his hook. In the end, when he was about to give up altogether, he thought of his wife sitting at home waiting for him and decided to make one more try. For this last effort he baited his hook with the strong-perfumed

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

245
379
171
773

flower of the *uetea* tree. As he baited his hook and dropped the line into the hole he made this chant: "Mauieuli, Mauiepopo, ta te matau, e matau lave" [Mauieuli, Mauiepopo, (we) prepare the hook, the fast-gripping hook]. The *tuna* took the bait and was soon fast fixed to the hook. The man hauled the fish from the hole, and when he was about to club it to death the fish spoke, saying, "Hear my words before you kill me. When I am dead, cut off my head. Let your wife eat my body, but my head you must plant in the ground in front of your house." The man listened well to the words of the *tuna*. Then he killed the fish, cut off its head, and planted it in front of his house. The body he wrapped in leaves, cooked in the oven, and took to his wife. She saw the eel and said, "Here you are at last with just the kind of fish I have been longing for." With these words she ate the fish and was satisfied.

After a time the head grew up into a tree which later bore nuts, one nut on the topmost stem, two nuts on the second stem, three nuts on the third stem, and so on up to ten nuts on the tenth stem. Then later it had twenty stems and on the twentieth were twenty nuts. Finally the tree bore a heavy crop of nuts. As the earliest nuts ripened and became hard, they dropped from the tree to the ground. Mauieuli collected all the nuts. Then he had the idea of giving nuts to all the islands in the Pacific. He divided the nuts into two parts; one part for the islands of the western Pacific, the other part for the islands of the eastern Pacific. Then he took one nut at a time from the western pile and threw it into the air. As he threw he called out the name of an island and there the nut landed. When the western pile was finished he started on the eastern pile, throwing a nut into the air as before for each island in the eastern Pacific. In this way all the islands of the Pacific received the coconut. After he had used all the nuts from the tree, he thought, "In this division I have forgotten all about Pukapuka, which is neither east nor west. Te Ulu-o-te-watu has received no nuts from this division." He looked around on the ground and found one very small, dry nut. He held up this nut and said, "This shall be the nut for Pukapuka." Thus in the end all the islands shared in the nuts from the tree that grew from the head of the *tuna* fished by Mauieuli.

829
186
822

After telling this story, informants added that the first nut was planted in the reserve of Uta. It is a characteristic Pukapukan touch to say that Pukapuka received only a wizened nut after almost being left out of the division altogether. In the story of Lata, when Lata divided the huge *Tridacna* shellfish (*paysus*), he forgot Pukapuka in the division and was able to give the island only the rock to which the *paysus* was growing. Similarly Pukapuka was the last Polynesian island to receive Christianity and among the last islands to receive a visit from anthropologists!

245
192
824
137

Coconut trees are empirically divided into 17 classes in terms of the bearing qualities of the tree and the shape or quality of the husk:

Niu lakita: produces nuts that are small but abundant; it sometimes ceases bearing for a long time but usually bears again after this pause.
Niu wata: bears well and continuously but not abundantly.
Niu tauici: does not bear well and is not often planted.
Niu koalia: bears well but the nuts show a tendency to fall from the tree before they are mature.
Niu wakiole: a non-bearing tree with male flowers.
Niu malie: bears well and has good eating nuts.
Niu mangalo: bears the sweet eating coconut with edible husk.
Niu lalilili: bears very small nuts.
Niu lumumi: very large nuts.
Niu hawa lalai: nuts with long husks.

[For the account of two culture heroes, Wotoa and Te Yoa, from whose visit was derived the Pukapukan's knowledge of the Underworld, with added inforamtion from the visit of the seer Levi, see category 116, pp. 326-330.]

[For material on early canoe voyages away from Pukapuka which are a combination of fancy and fact, see category 116, pp. 400-410.]

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

In husking (*yoka*), a nut is brought down on the point of the stick so that the line of penetration is through one of the three longitudinal ridges (*pauaga*) in a horizontal plane. A longitudinal section of husk is removed by levering the nut outward and downward from the stick, and the process of impaling and levering is continued until all the husk is removed. When it is desired to preserve the edible husk (*uukomuko*) much care is taken and the husk is torn off (*yaebili*) gently rather than levered off in large sections.

Drinking nuts are husked completely smooth (*yoka maiemaie*) or so as to leave a longitudinal strip of husk attached to each nut (*yoka ua te kayasi*). A thin length of fiber is raised from this strip. Pairs of nuts are tied together (*kayasi*) by these fibers, making it possible to throw them over a rough carrying pole (*amonga*) of cocoanut midrib and thus conveniently carry (*amo*) them from the bush to the home.

A heap of *yakeli* nuts gathered together from the ground where they have fallen is termed *putanga* (pile), whether it is a large or a small heap. Reference to these piles is in terms of the number of nuts gathered, whether 100, 200, or more. Thus a man asks about a pile of nuts, "Na ai te lau nei?" (Whose hundred is this?).

The husked drinking nut is opened by piercing or by cracking:

The eye (*mata*), which is in the widest of the spaces between the three longitudinal ridges on the surface of the nut and which is filled with soft tissue through which the nut sprouts, is pierced (*taka*) with a cocoanut leaflet midrib or with the pointed end of the *kalakala* implement. To open the nut by cracking, it is held in the hand and the shell at the base (*malimali*) is cracked against a stone. When done by a skillful hand, the base of the nut cracks evenly all around and is lifted with the fingers without loss of the liquid. Today nuts are more often cracked by three sharp blows with a knife blade on the base. After the liquid is drunk, the nut is broken open (*avave*) by knocking it against a stone. The soft flesh is scooped out with the thumb and fingers; harder flesh that does not yield readily to the pressure of the thumb is scraped out (*uukomakaki*) with a scraper (*kalakala*).

TALO

The following named varieties of talo are indigenous to Pukapuka: *manulamole, uukamoto, uukeu, kele, pongi* (slow-growing species), *pelcua, talaki, kalelee, nevanevau* (slow-growing species), *kula, kiekie, uli, koyikoyi*. All are grown on Pukapuka today save *talo koyikoyi* which was practically all destroyed by the tidal wave of 1914. Introduced varieties are named after the land of importation; as talo Tawiti (Tahiti), talo Polapola (Borabora), talo Niue, and so on.

The origin of talo and *palaka* in the world is recounted in the story of Maui (1). Some informants incline to the belief that only one variety of talo was introduced by the gods in the first place and that all other varieties sprang from this one by some power of the gods—a rationalization perhaps of the fact that strains of talo are so mixed today that it is hard to grow one true to type. This causes trouble on talo bed boundaries. One woman plants one variety on her boundary, and her neighbor plants another variety on her side of the boundary, hoping thus to keep the boundary between the

1: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapuka

372 The origin of fire is told in two stories:

In the very beginning of time, fire was procured for the Pukapukans by a man named Maulkatoto, a medicine man who was visited by his god in a dream and instructed how to make fire with the hearth and rubbing stick.* Maulkatoto made fire according to the directions of his god. The *kaka* bird (ghost tern) was the assistant who held the far end of the hearth stick. When Maulkatoto had made fire, the tern flew up into the air and circled around him. Maulkatoto hit the tern over the eyes with the hot rubbing stick, making the black marks over the eyes which the *akiaki* bird (a white tern with a black semicircle around the upper part of each eye) carries to this day. A second version says that Maulkatoto's hands were covered with ashes, and as he grasped at the tern, the ashes marked the bird over the eyes. The following part of an old chant is quoted in support of this origin of fire:

Tutu ia i te awi na Maulkatoto,	Flamed the fire (made) by Maulkatoto,
E yolia e te kakavai,	Hearth holder the *kaka* bird,
Naku kotia te vaimata o te akiaki.	I striped the outer corners of the eye of the *akiaki* bird.

The seismic wave of about 300 years ago was so disastrous that all fire was extinguished. Another legend tells how fire was brought back to Pukapuka after this catastrophe:

The god, Ngaliyeyeu, brought fire to the priest, Te Ule. There was no fire in this land. Ngaliyeyeu brought it to Te Ule. Then fire was known. At that time there were no fires belonging to the priests of the gods. Earlier they had lit their fires at the fire of Te Ule. The god of Te Ule, Ngaliyeyeu, became angry. The god said to him, "Put out your fire, that the priests of the gods won't come here to take fire to cook their fish. Leave them to eat their fish only raw. If they are without fire to cook, they won't live. They have been boasting, they fancied that the fire belonged to them." Te Ule put his fire out. The priests became frenzied. They went to Te Ule to seek fire, "O Te Ule, where is the fire?" Te Ule answered, "There is no fire." The priests of the gods ate only raw food. Te Ule got his fish, rubbed his fire till it burned, grilled his fish till cooked, put out the fire. Such was his practice.

This is the technique by which the god succeeded in getting fire: a stick, *puapua*. Split the *puapua*. Cut the one portion into a very small piece. The name of the small piece is *kumati*. The other half of the stick, place beneath. Shave the part on top of the back of the stick. Place the *kumati* on this place, the name of which is *ikanga*. Then rub. There are two types of rubbing; short, rapid strokes (*patumate*) the one, longer, slow strokes (*makumati*) the other. Arrived at another, later time, Te Ule told the technique for making fire.

372 312 482 For firewood, which is fairly scarce, many parts of the coconut tree are utilized: flower sheath, dry flower stems, small dry coconut shells, and occasionally very dry coconut husks. Firewood is also obtained from other trees, dead branches of which are broken from the trunk or picked up from the ground and broken by beating against a tree trunk or stone. Wood obtained from the reserves is placed in coconut mats, tied with coconut fibers in a bundle, and carried home on top of the head. Gathering firewood is 372 women's work. Today, as formerly, fresh fire is made only if it is im-

*In another version of the story, Maulkatoto is said to be a god, but apparently not related to any of the three Maui brothers. Informants giving this version could not remember how Maulkatoto procured fire in the first instance.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

village to which he changes his affiliation, has equal rights with those whose membership is by birth or adoption.

On achieving sociological adulthood (*makutanu, unkamanaia*), a young man or woman may change (*wilo*) his village affiliation. Several boys have so changed village affiliation. A man might break away from his paternal group against its wishes and join another village. Divided loyalties might cause difficulties with his fellow-villagers and he would gain the reputation of being a trouble-maker or a lazy person. If he wished to rejoin the village of his birth, it would refuse to accept him or make unacceptable conditions of readmittance. The only course open to him would be to try to join the third village or to accept the conditions even if it meant the indignity of receiving a child's food share for one year.

No girl is known to have availed herself of her theoretical *wilo* privilege at the time of attaining adulthood. On marriage a woman automatically becomes a member of her husband's village to be sponsored by him, unless the couple take up matrilocal residence, in which exceptional case the husband becomes affiliated with his wife's village. No example of a husband and wife who affiliate in different villages is known.

The village in which a child is to affiliate may be determined by the likelihood of later inheriting talo beds or other properties in that village from the relative who is to sponsor it. Similarly a person may change his affiliation to the village in which he has come into possession of talo beds, house site, or coconut trees.

Informants suggested that formerly a man who became a new member of a village was expected sooner or later to change his residence to that village in order to reduce to a minimum talo-bearing, transfer of village secrets, plans, and policies, and the conflict of loyalties inevitably provoked by changing village allegiance. As long as change of residence accompanied change of affiliation, there was no objection to frequent change of membership. Indeed, if the new member was a champion in any sport his joining was welcomed by a village, though formerly when membership of competition teams was based on lineage affiliation, the new member often had to cut across these kinship ties because of village localisation of paternal descent groupings. Change of residence does not often accompany change of village membership today, though with adults, it would be welcome as evidence of complete identification with the village joined.

Today, as formerly, a man without a village affiliation is lost and outcast. One who gains an unenviable reputation for antisocial conduct has to accept humiliation in order to secure a status, however slight, in the island community. There are no records of men without village affiliation. Village membership is evidently a fundamental necessity of Pukapukan social life.

MATERNAL LINEAGES

The *uwa* is a maternal lineage which embraces several maternal sublineages each of which is called a *kainanga*. By lineage is meant a unilateral group of real blood kin. The *uwa* is not to be confused with the maternal side of the bilateral kinship group. Descent within the *uwa* is strictly maternal, whereas the maternal side of the bilateral kin grouping refers to both maternal-maternal and maternal-paternal descent lines. *Uwa* means the life-generating female organs, and its extension to a definite maternal social grouping is a recognition of the importance of maternal descent as a cohesive principle which binds together the members of the group. Membership is by birth, with certain qualifications relating to adoption (p. 255).

The origin of the *uwa* was discussed with informants on several different

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

[124] 613 273 616 539

occasions. There is much confusion in their minds on the subject, and no two men agree on all points of the story. The account given below will serve as a basis for the discussion of individual interpretations of the origin of the *tuua*:

Ko Punga ma Punga Momoto, e lua tamaliki o Tumulivaka ma Te Matakiate. Ko ye taka leiei na mo konga ia ma, ne na Tumulivaka, ne na Mataliki na tama ia. Koa matutua i-a Punga ma Punga Momoto. Wanau kôe na tama a Punga Momoto: ko te mango, ko te tawola, ko te wai ika pau. Yau na toe tama, ko te kati, ko te tupa, te kavea, te kile, te tuli, te kawe, te wai tupua o lunga o te wenua. Ko na tama ia a lua ko te wai ika o te moana, ko te wai tupua a lunga o te wenua. Kba nono latou i lunga o te wenua, mea latou i na yanga kikino.

Punga and Punga Momoto were two children of Tumulivaka and Te Matakiate. These and other parts (of the story) are not well understood; (that is) whether (they were) the children of Tumulivaka or of Mataliki. Punga and Punga Momoto were (now) grown up. The children of Punga Momoto were born: the shark, the whale, all of the many fish. Next the other children, the land creatures, the *tupa* crab, the robber crab, the *kile* bird, the sandpiper, the curlew, all the creatures on the land. Their children (then), were the many fish of the sea and the many creatures of the land. They lived on the land, carried out their evil works.[a]

Lili loa te atua, ko Mataliki. Lapa loa ki te nila mai lunga o te langi. Misila loa na tamaliki a Punga ma Punga Momoto. Awangia loa latou. Misila loa na toe tamaliki, welele loa ki loto o te moana, nanai; mai te tawola, te mango, te kakai, te pala, te wonu,—te wai ika,—misila ki loto o te moana; misila ki loto o te alo: mai te kiliotawaki, te ataolua, te tiwitiwi, te yama, te lausumui, te tau kakoti,—ko te wai ika i loto o te alo. Yau na toe tama a lua, utu ki lalo o te wenua, mai te kaipea, te unga, te kavea, te kiole, ko te wai tupua i lunga o te wenua. Ko na toe tama a lua, welele atu ki na konga mamao i na toe pa wenua, nanai: welele lalunga o te uluwenua, mai te tuli, te kawe, te kolili, te polopolotanga,—te wai manu e welele la lunga. Wanau ai te wunga o te mango, e tangata i lunga o te wenua. Tapai loa te ingoa o te wua o latou, ko te wua o Te Mango. Pela oki te tama a te tawola: wanau oki te tawola tama tama, e tangata. Ko tona tino o te tawola ia, na wano ki te moana, tapu atu ai, wai ika mo te moana. Ko tana tama na wanau i lunga o te wenua, tapai loa tona ingoa, Te Manga o Te Wai Tawola.

Punga and Punga Momoto were two children of Tumulivaka and Te Matakiate. These and other parts (of the story) are not well understood; (that is) whether (they were) the children of Tumulivaka or of Mataliki. Punga and Punga Momoto were (now) grown up. The children of Punga Momoto were born: the shark, the whale, all of the many fish. Next the other children, the land creatures, the *tupa* crab, the robber crab, the *kile* bird, the sandpiper, the curlew, all the creatures on the land. Their children (then), were the many fish of the sea and the many creatures of the land. They lived on the land, carried out their evil works.[a]

The god Mataliki became angry. He struck (the land) with lightning from up in the sky. The children of Punga and Punga Momoto hastened away. They were scorched. Some of the children disappeared, ran into the sea, hid there: such were the whale, the shark, the albacore, the *Ruvettus*, the turtle,—all the fish rushed into the sea, (or) rushed into the lagoon, such as the *kiliotawaki*, the *ataolua*, the *tiwitiwi*, the *yama*, the *lausumui*, the *tau kakoti*,—all the fish of the lagoon. Next, their other children hid under the land, such as the *kaipea* crab, the *unga* crab, the robber crab, the rat, all the creatures on the land. Their other children flew away to distant places in other island groups, hid there: they flew above the treetops: these were the sandpiper, the curlew, the plover, the turnstone,—all the birds that fly on high.

The shark gave birth to its offspring, a human being on the land. The name of their *tuua* was given, the *tuua* of Te Mango (the shark). Similarly the children of the whale: the child of the whale was born, a man. The body of the whale went to the sea, grew there, breeding fish for the sea. Its child born on the land was given its name, Te Manga o Te Wai Tawola (the branch of the whales).

[835]

[a] The references to "evil works" reflects the embarrassment which informants feel regarding the incestuous propagation of their land.

1sBeaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

5'39

Ko te tupuanga o te Wua Lulu: Me te mea ko te wawine no loto mai ana te wua, e tupu mai ai te tangata. Wanau ai loa, tupu ai tangata. E wua ia no te Pukapuka. Pe la oki na tama a Punga Momoto: e wua oki te mea ko tupu mai ai. Tupu lua te wua, ko te Wua Lulu.

Wanau ai na tama a Te Mango, a te tangata i lunga o te wenua nei: ko Te Lokie, e tamawine na Te Mango; ko Yeitae, ko te toe tamawine a Te Mango; e lua nanga na Te Mango. Wakatupu i a Lokie tona wuanga, tupu mai. Pela oki i a Yeitae.

Ko Te Tawola, koa wanau tamaliki Te Tawola: Ko Te Yelu, ko te toe tama a Te Tawola; ko Te Manga o Te Manu, ko te toe tama a Te Tawola. E lua na tama a Te Tawola, ko Te Yelu ma Te Manu. Pau ai na tamaliki a Punga Momoto na wanau o te monua. .

Ko na tamaliki a Punga Momoto na mea ki ngauta: Ko Te Kati, ko Pukapuka te toe, ko Malemu te toe, ko Te Lawala te toe. Ko te toe tama a Punga Momoto, Te Kiole. Ko te toe, Kenakena. Ko te wanau a Kiole, wanau mai ai te tangata; pela oki te wanau a Kenakena, pela oki te wanau a Pukapuka, pela oki te wanau a Malemu, pela oki te wanau a Te Lawala. Koa wanau a latou tamaliki wolo ki lunga o te wenua. Koa wolo te tangata ki lunga o te wenua.

As to the growth of the Wua Lulu: (it is) like a woman inside of whom is the ovary from which grow people. She conceives, people grow. This, in Pukapuka, is called *wua*. Like this were the children of Punga Momoto: it was a *wua* also which grew from them. The *wua* grew, the Wua Lulu. (This included both the *wua* of Te Mango and the branch of the Tawola.)

The children of Te Mango, of the people on this island, were born. Te Lokie was a daughter of Te Mango; Yeitae, the other daughter. These are two branches of Te Mango. Lokie produced her offspring; they grew. Yeitae did the same.

As to Te Tawola, Te Tawola bore children: Te Yelu was one child of Te Tawola. The branch of Te Manu (the Bird) was another child of Te Tawola. There were two children of Te Tawola, Te Yelu and Te Manu. This finishes the children of Punga Momoto born of the sea.

(These are) the children of Punga Momoto who hid inland, (that is) the Kati: Pukapuka was one, Malemu another, Te Lawala another. Another child of Punga Momoto was Te Kiole (the Rat); another, Kenakena. As to the children of Te Kiole, people were born. So too the children of Kenakena, of Pukapuka, also the children of Malemu, and also the children of Te Lawala. Their many children were born on the island. The people on the island were many.

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NOTE: The above account stresses the point that the children of Punga and Punga Momoto were animals of the land and animals of the sea. In earlier discussions, other informants stated that the offspring of these two grandchildren of Matalilki were humans. When the lightning struck the house in which Punga and Punga Momoto were living, the children rushed outside to seek protection. Some ran to the sea for shelter, hiding under the water, under reef coral heads. Others of the children rushed to the bush, and hid under trees, in the holes of land animals, under rock shelters. When the panic was over, one of three things happened. The text account states that the land animals and the sea animals gave birth to human children who became the ancestors of the various lineages. Another version is that the human children came from hiding and then commemorated the event by taking names from land and sea animals, according to whether they hid in sea or on land. A third opinion is that the children remained forever where they hid and were turned into land or sea animals. According to this version, not all the children were stricken with panic. Those that remained human named themselves after the forms of their now transformed brothers and sisters and these names

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

613 became the names of the lineages thus formed. The variations need not be reconciled. 535 They are interesting as variations on a theme that explains mythically the origin of an important social group.

773 In the beginning when the maternal lineages were thus originated there 616 were two main groups, Kati and Lulu. Kati is the generic name for all land creatures, hence Wua Kati may be translated as the land people. Lulu is the common term for a gathering and refers here to the remainder, those not land people. Hence the Wua Lulu is the sea people. These two main maternal lineages are again divided into two main sections. The divisions of the Wua Kati are Wua Uila (lightning) and Wua Kati. The divisions of the Wua Lulu are Wua Tawola (whale) and Wua Mango (shark).

611 Another account states that the main divisions in the beginning were 773 Wua Lulu and Wua Uila, which on subdivision became Wua Mango, Wua Tawola, Wua Uila, and Wua Kati. Hence whatever the priority of names, the result on subdivision is the same in both accounts. Informants were unclear as to whether there was a priority of groupings such that originally there was a clear dual division, which later became a fourfold division, subsumed by two main named groups. The text account suggests not. Other statements suggest that of the Lulu group, Mango was the first-born child, Tawola the second-born child. This would definitely mean temporal priority for a dual division. The matter is important, because the suggestion is here strong that originally the maternal division of Pukapukan society was in terms of matrilineal moieties, perhaps of matrilineal phratries. I think it 613 likely that whatever the matter of priority, which cannot be decided at this 773 date, there was originally a dual division, each division being again sub-616 divided into two groups, such that a matrilineal group of sea people was opposed to a matrilineal group of land people. Further discussion of the functions of the maternal lineages will show that this dual organization was important for both economic and social organization.

613 The text account states that a further division into maternal sub-lineages 616 (*keinanga*) occurred at the time of the original formation of the groups. Other informants agreed that as the maternal grouping became numerically large and too unwieldy to control its members, various women broke away from each lineage to form smaller matrilineal sub-lineages (*keinanga*, *momo*, or *manga*), each of which, however, remains subsumed under the larger grouping. The grouping of this later period, which continues to this day, is as follows:

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

never succeeded to the title, though descent might be through a woman where her male child was adopted by the chief. Before he died, the chief nominated his successor by the act of placing a pearl-shell ornament (*yasa*) around the man's neck. After the chief's death the matter was discussed by the people of the paternal lineage. If they disapproved the chief's choice, on the ground of incompetence, there was much discussion and possible intrigue, until they agreed on another suitable candidate. In this way, direct male issue might be passed over in favor of someone from a junior line of the lineage, who would be adopted into the main line of descent before induction into office. The time elapsing between the death of the chief and the induction of a successor varied according to the amount of discussion involved, and the number of conflicting lines to be harmonized. The final choice of the lineage was indicated by placing the ornament (*yasa*) round the neck of the successor and the *taumanea* ornament (a string of pearl-shell fishhook shanks) round his waist. In Muliwutu lineage, the chosen person had to establish his right to the title by passing a test. He went to the sacred enclosure of the lineage and struck the stone of the god; if the god was favorably inclined to this candidate, he sent a rainbow across the sky. No candidate who was unable thus to produce a rainbow was ever inducted as chief.

Both pattern and variation governing succession to title are best illustrated by a consideration of the types of succession recorded in the genealogy of the supreme chief. In the accompanying genealogy (table 4) the chiefly title-holders are numbered consecutively from Mataliki to the present day.

The succession passed from father to son from Mataliki, the traditional founder of Pukapuka, to the sixth chief, Kamola, in the sixth generation. From a genealogy of Muliwutu lineage of Ngake, it would seem that Kamola succeeded to the title of chief of Muliwutu, and in his person the two chiefs of Tua and Muliwutu were combined. Kamola had a son, unnamed in the Tua genealogy but named Tamaliki in the Muliwutu genealogy, who apparently succeeded to the title of chief of Muliwutu. In Tua lineage matters were more complex.

Kamola's son was married to a woman named Yalasyika, who was very kind to Kamola in sickness and in his old age. Kamola's son was apparently less filial in this respect, and Kamola thought to reward his daughter-in-law for her care and attention by passing the title to anyone she wished to name. Yalasyika herself could not hold the title, but Kamola was of the opinion that the honor of naming the next chief was the greatest tribute he could pay to her friendship for him.

The people of the lineage objected to the possibility of the title's passing out of their own lineage under this arrangement, so they insisted that Kamola should propose a test; if Yalasyika could find a champion (*toa*) to pass this test, then she might name the successor to the title. Kamola agreed to this arrangement. He gathered a great number of coconut leaves, stripping several trees completely. With one leaflet that round his waist, he lay on the ground, face downward, and was covered with all the coconut leaves. The feat was to pick up at one time all the leaves covering Kamola without injuring the chief. Yalasyika chose Kui, a man of special powers, to act as her champion. Kui took his spear and advanced toward the prone figure of the chief, performing the *kafo* ritual (p. 322). He struck at Kamola once but failed to pick up the leaves; struck a second time but failed; the third time he thrust his spear close and with a superhuman wrench picked up all the coconut leaves covering Kamola. He threw these all in the air with the exception of the leaf round Kamola's waist, which he left undisturbed. As the leaves fell through the air, Kui struck them in rapid succession, shattering each and every leaf before it touched the ground.

I:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

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The members of Kamole's lineage were all watching the test, and when they saw the evidence of Kui's powers, they were afraid and agreed immediately that the right of succession should go to Yakanyika's nominee. Yakanyika named Kuiuea, her son, to succeed to the title. Informants were in doubt as to whether Kuiuea was her son by Kamole's son, and therefore the grandson of Kamole, or by another husband.

The chiefly title passed from the eastern side of the island, from the Ngake lineage of Muliwutu to the western side, to Tua lineage, where it has remained to the present day. The chiefly line of Muliwutu descends from Tamalihi, probable son of Kamole.

The seventh chief, Kuiuea, by his supernormal powers succeeded in driving away from Pukapuka the giant Tongalelevaua sent by the chiefs of Ya-ake (p. 381). Wut, the eighth chief, was the great navigator and sea-rover, who sailed all the seas and brought back to Pukapuka many of the games now played by the people of the atoll (p. 402). He was away from Pukapuka during most of his reign as nominal supreme chief of the island, returning only to refit his canoes and sail away again.

It was perhaps during his frequent absences that the woman Wauguua assumed much power and authority and led the people through a period of license, taga-breaking and debauchery which was finally ended by the great cataclysmic wave. But informants were confused as to whether Wauguua was contemporary with Wut, stating on one day that there was a time break between the two, and on the next that Wauguua rose to authority because of Wut's absence.

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Te Kala, ninth chief, was by birth a member of Matanga lineage of Ngake. Some informants believe he was adopted into Tua lineage of which he became supreme chief, others that he divided several of his surviving children after the wave among the various lineages so that descent groups might be restarted, and that he gave his first-born son, Maina, to his wife's lineage of Tua. In any case, Maina became tenth chief. It is from the first (*puna uma*) of Maina's three wives that the descent group of the supreme chief continues. Maina was succeeded by his son, Tuliayanga, the eleventh chief. Tuliayanga's children were all females. His eldest, Wala, became the sacred maid. His second and fourth daughters had issue, his third daughter had none. From the second daughter descends Te Tio, fifteenth chief. Alatakupa, twelfth chief, was an adopted child of Maina's first wife.

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When Tuliayanga died without male issue, Alatakupa succeeded to the title. He married but had no issue. Apparently a man of vicious temper, he so enraged the people of the island with his senseless killings that when he was finally killed on Motu Ko, all his male relatives were also put to death in an endeavor to extirpate his line altogether. There was, then, no immediate successor in line for the title of supreme chief, and probably no desire on the part of the people to appoint a new chief as long as the unpleasant reign of Alatakupa was fresh in their minds.

Tuiva, a man of Matanga lineage, was appointed regent during an interregnum. He moved his residence from Ngake to Loto without, however, changing his lineage affiliation. He is thought by some informants to have been a son-in-law of the chief Tuli-

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

845 with physical treatment. Formerly, a medicine man (*tawgata pila*) was consulted. He diagnosed the case, then went to his god house, performed the pigeon-calling *lupe* ritual to his god, and received from the god advice on the treatment of the trouble. The god's advice seems to have been of a stereotyped nature, the suggestion that the medicine man return to the mother and give her several smart slaps (*papakinga*) in the small of the back at frequent intervals. Today this procedure is followed as of rote. The parturient woman is not allowed to swim, but she is encouraged by her attendants to get up and walk about in the hope that the gentle exercise will encourage delivery. If this has no effect, *niu kalokalo* is prepared and given to the mother to drink: the grated flesh of a young nut is mixed with the liquid of the nut. The patient drinks about one pint at a time, repeating the dose at intervals if necessary. This medicine (*lakau*) is considered slightly laxative and is also supposed to cool the blood. Another recommended medicine, also taken at intervals, is coconut cream mixed with the expressed juice of pandanus keys. No other method is known to hasten delivery or ease the pain. Neither chants nor genealogies were recited to assist delivery.

844 Pukapukan theory is that children born during the night come out head first, and those born during the day come out feet first, in spite of the efforts of attendants to change the position of the child. No explanation could be offered for the case of a child recently born during the day with its head first. A day-born child is reputed to have a short expectation of life, it is likely to die even before it starts to walk. Apela, a young man rapidly making a name for himself as a baby specialist, was in attendance at the birth of a child one afternoon, the third to be born to the parturient woman, the first children having been still-born. Labor was not prolonged. After one *kokonongo* (exertion of pressure) attendants saw the infant's head appear. The child did not come out. Five minutes later, the head again appeared, but still the baby did not come. After a further ten minutes of labor, the child appeared feet first, and was thus delivered. Apela plainly felt that the child would not survive infancy, because of its inauspicious introduction to the world.

845 It is related that formerly the birth of a child later to become a man of supernormal
773 strength, caused the death of the mother. The child sprang from the womb with such force as to injure fatally the mother's internal organs. Thus were born Watu-manava-nui (p. 379), Kui, and some of Kui's descendants (1).

844 When the child has been delivered, the blood is massaged into the cord (*pito*) and along the cord to the navel (*pito*) of the child. Without waiting for the expression of the placenta (*wewae*), the cord is then cut (*kohoti*) by the male attendant or the father with a sharp *vakoyi* shell about 5 or 6 inches from the umbilicus, in no prescribed manner. A slip noose is made in a short length of sennit fiber (*pulu kaun*), slipped over the end of the cord, and passed to a point about 2 inches from the distal end. The cord is not folded back. The noose is pulled tight and knotted with half hitches.

The placenta usually comes away almost immediately without any difficulty. Mrs. Henry reports no failure in the expulsion of the placenta during the seven years she has been in Pukapuka. But should the expulsion of the placenta be delayed even as much as one half hour the parents confess to attendants any sins they have committed. Confession procures immediate expulsion.

844 The placenta falls into a hole (*lua*) previously dug beneath the mother. Placenta and cord are immediately taken by an attendant to a section of the beach owned by the
824 father's paternal lineage and buried in the ground. Clothes badly soiled in parturition may also be buried in the same hole. A *puapua* tree (later to be used for a canoe), a *pulu* tree (the leaves to be used later for taro fertilizer), or a coconut tree is planted over the hole. Such a tree is referred to as *te wewae o Moa* (the afterbirth of Soand-so). But informants suggested no connection between the life of the tree and the
844 life of the child.

The parturient blood (*koto*) is taps. It is allowed to drop into the hole under the mother which is finally covered with sand but not concealed in any other way. No rationalization could be obtained for the belief that the blood is taps, nor were any con-

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

lineages. It is likely, I think, that people of Ngake inter-marrying into Yato transferred their affection for Te Maungatu to Yato villagers, and that this god gradually assumed a position of major importance for Yato lineages. Te Alongaoa, another Ngake god worshiped by men of Yato, may have been transferred to a village not his home village by the same method.

A second important duty of the attendant gods was to form a permanent guard for the reserve lands. Whereas the major gods came to the reserves only when trouble arose, the attendants were on perpetual sentry duty and handled all smaller infractions of tapus on their own responsibility. The names of the groups of attendants for the various reserves are:

Reserve	Attendants
Te Lau-lolon-o-Mataliki (Uta).	Te Malanga Atua Ya.
Te Nuku-loa-o-Mataliki (Motu Ko).	Te Maungatu.
Te Nuku-ya-o-Mataliki (Motu Kotawa).	Na Tualiki.
Te Niu-ya-o-Mataliki (Niua).	Na Wuatini.

The relation of the attendants to the reserves is evidenced by the example of Te Malanga Atua. These spirits lived in Uta all the time. Whenever anyone went to the reserve for illicit purposes, the attendants warned the intruder before he committed his illegal act; then if he persisted, they plagued him with threats. On certain regular nights of the moon, the Malanga Atua gathered together (*wakamalanga*) and visited in turn all the cemeteries in Wale, singing and dancing together at each cemetery. Sometimes they also visited humans in dreams. Through these visits and the noise of their ghostly merrymaking, humans knew that they were on watch.

Tapuaki was the name of one individual attendant god, who was the servant of Tuna and who punished violations of the tapus of Uta with incurable debility. Under another guise Tapuaki was a mischievous spirit who promoted illicit sexual relations. Of a man well known for his sexual adventures, the people say, "E tangata la no Tapuaki" (He is a man of Tapuaki). Tapuaki caused jealousy in women over extra-marital relations of their husbands. He also caused nightmares by coming to a man or woman in sleep, twisting him up in the typical nightmare of constriction. In another phase of this spirit's duties, a man who wished to win at a spear-throwing contest threw a flower to the god at the place where he was traditionally supposed to live, close by the cemetery of i Tua. It was thought that Tapuaki made the opponent lose his aim by causing jealous thoughts in his mind at a critical moment.

The *tikitiki* attendants of the major gods seem to have been small animals such as birds. Thus in the story of the woman-seducing contest between Te Awuawu and Ngaliyeyeu, Te Awuawu won because of the power of his *tikitiki*, a small bird. After the contest was over he loaned the *tikitiki* to Ngaliyeyeu to enable him to seduce Mulitauyakana, a difficult woman of surpassing

1;Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

beauty. The woman was bathing in the water. The *tikitiki* pecked at her kilt which fell off. When Muli rushed from the water to drive away the bird, Ngaliyeyeu was waiting for her.

COMMUNICATION WITH THE GODS

Communication with other-worldly powers was generally through the medium of priests. Many times, however, a layman might procure the favor of the gods, or the gods might themselves favor the man with a communication, without the medium of the priest. When warning of reserve violations, the gods and attendants spoke directly to the person concerned. On the other hand, to consult the ancestor god for fishing favors, the captain or any member of a fishing canoe communicated the desires of his crew by performing the *wakatato* ritual close to the religious clearing of the god. In *wakatato*, the suppliant stands up, sways his body back and forward and quickly beats the fronts of his thighs (*wakatato te tsnga*) with the palms of his hands. This was believed to attract the attention of the god. Consultations of free lance gods or spirits were sometimes accompanied by a gift of flowers thrown on the ground where the god was supposed to be, or else thrown on the ground anywhere, with the idea that the god would see the flowers and recognize the tribute.

The technique of communicating a request to the gods Te Awuawu and Ngaliyeyeu was different. The intercessor held a coconut-leaf midrib in the air and addressed the gods as follows:

Te lua ule lnaina e!	Two penises desirable to eat (a term of affectionate address), hail!
Te matangi manino	(Make) the wind calm
Toka te vanga!	Subside the spacings (between the waves)!

Each time he reached the end of his request, he beat the butt of the midrib on the ground with a loud report to attract the attention of the gods. He repeated the plea and the noise-making until the gods listened to him and answered the request. This method of interceding with these gods was done anywhere and was as successful on sea as on land. That anyone might thus directly address these gods probably accounts for some of their popularity.

There is no record of any direct communication with the gods by family prayers, libations, food gifts, or dedication of children.

Religious Structures

Communications to the gods by priests needed the instrumentalities of religious structures: *yionga*, *ouanga*, *wale atua*, and *potu*. The *potu* structure, as distinguished from the sacred seat (*potu*) in a god house, was a simple shrine. I saw none. The shrine of Lewelie, the god of chiefs, was

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukan

On being consulted, the god searched for the presumed sickness-causing spirit, which he showed to the medicine man, asking whether the sickness from which the spirit suffered was the same as that of the patient. Receiving an affirmative answer, the god held the spirit fast while the medicine man beat it to death. The communication over, the medicine man explained matters to the patient and withdrew the foreign thing from his body. The patient recovered with the knowledge that he would never again be troubled by that spirit.

The seer Levi had a great reputation as a killer of spirits. The story of Yawani illustrates his powers:

Yawani was a man from Tongareva who lived in Pukapuka at the time of the early missionaries. When a female friend of his wife died, Yawani sought permission from the pastor to bury her in Tongarevan fashion, in a bonfire stone grave above ground instead of underground in the Pukapukan manner. The pastor refused permission and insulted Yawani. Some days later Yawani went to Motu Ko to cut down a tree for a canoe. The branch he was cutting broke suddenly; a sharp point entered his body and disemboweled him. He died of his injuries. His soul began to wander over the island trying to cause sickness.

Once when the people were sailing across the lagoon to Motu Ko, they saw a ripple of water (*pipi te yua*) going in front of the canoe. Levi, who was on one of the canoes, said that he could see in the ripple the soul of Yawani. Soon after this the pastor's wife became sick. The pastor was convinced that it was the spirit of Yawani causing the sickness. Prayer was of no avail, so the people asked Levi to deal with the *aitu*. Some time later Levi was looking over the lagoon when he recognized the soul of Yawani moving along the reef from Kotawa to Yato. Levi performed the pigeon (*lupe*) ritual and called on his gods to help him wrestle with the spirit. By the time it had reached the causeway, Levi's gods had rallied to his aid. The gods surrounded the *aitu* so it could not escape; Levi rushed at it with a stick and struck it several times. Some blood fell on the ground (and teeth and a head as well, say some!), and this was taken as a token that Levi had killed the spirit. Further proof was that the pastor's wife got well and the soul was never seen again.

The third type of disease-causing spirit, spirits from a foreign land (*aitu tutuhoa*, mischief-making spirits), specialized in causing epidemic diseases. They were not spirits of Pukapukan dead, but spirits of dead people in foreign lands or of foreign gods. Some say that these spirits came from islands to the east or west of Pukapuka and hit on the island out of pure mischief. Others believe they came with a canoe load of visitors or drift voyagers, and then attacked the Pukapukans, for the visitors were immune to their own gods. At any rate this was a point to be considered by the seer in diagnosing apparently epidemic diseases. All the seers consulted their gods on the sacred enclosures to learn whether the diagnosis of *aitu tutuhoa* was correct. If the diagnosis was confirmed, one seer was chosen to deal with the spirits.

The seer communicated again with his god, who then accompanied him on a visit round Pukapuka. The god had with him his weapons: the lightning, the sun, the stars, the water. When the two came across a spirit, the god poured water about it so that it could not escape without being drowned, then blinded it with lightning, starlight, and sunlight. While the *aitu tutuhoa* was thus helpless, the seer beat it with a stick until it was dead. The seer could then inform the people that the matter was over. If the disease did not immediately disappear, then other *aitu tutuhoa* must be at large and the cure was continued until all were put out of the way.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

752 any method of removing disease objects by opening up the body. Nothing is known of amputation surgery, nor is there special treatment for shattered or gangrenous bone.

752 In the case of suppurating flesh, boils, or ulcers, the infected part is opened with a lance (*pao*) of shark tooth, and the blood and pus allowed
751 to drain off. To remove the bad blood in filarial swellings, the skin is pierced and the liquid drained off into a coconut shell. The same limb is lanced on successive occasions until the swelling subsides. Today a nail or a piece of glass is considered more efficient than a shark tooth. In lancing ulcers or boils (*hiko papola*) no attempt is made to keep the incision open so as to drain off the pus (*pe*). The hole closes naturally and is reopened after a few days. Nothing is known of trephining, nor is there ever intentional opening of vein or artery for bloodletting. Cautery was unknown. In effect, Pukapukan surgery is extremely undeveloped as compared with another western Polynesian community such as Vaitupu (19, pp. 236-246).

The Pukapukans had little knowledge of dental surgery. They practiced extracting only when a tooth was loose enough to be removed easily with the
757 hand. Toothache (*tinga te nio*) is common today; a favorite remedy is the application of salt or the insertion of a piece of plug tobacco in the cavity. Formerly, the mouth was rinsed out with salt water at frequent intervals, or the cavity filled with a piece of coconut fiber soaked in salt water. Two other remedies are: pound up the leaf buds of the *puka* tree and add to them fresh water or drinking nut liquid; soak a piece of coconut stipule (*heka*) in the liquid, and pack the material round the affected tooth and gum. Alternately, pound up a segment of the stalk of the banana tree and then tease out the fibers to make a flat surface, apply this to the tooth and gum. Foreign particles stuck between the teeth are picked out with a section of coconut leaflet midrib (*yukiyuki na nio ki te tuania*).

For earache, the meatus is explored with a bird quill or a chicken feather (*yokeyoke ki te mulu manu*) in an effort to dislodge excessive wax. Specks in the eye (*mata pepe*) are removed by a second person who turns down the lid and blows into the eye. If a cramped foot falls asleep or is affected by pins and needles (*nae matakolekoles*) small stones are inserted between each toe and left there until relief is obtained. Cramps in the hand or arm are relieved by cracking and snapping the knuckles of the fingers (*nukinuki na
753 ringaringa lima*).

The following texts are records of the powers of two men who combined the offices of medicine men, priests, and seers, and who appear to have been
791 particularly skillful in the treatment of some of the disorders just mentioned:

793 1. Tamea was a Mallowata man. He was a seer, a man with special powers. These
773 were the things he saw: medium-sized fish; when he clapped his hands, the hand was filled with the medium-sized fish. He clapped his hands, saw all the properties of the

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

756 ghosts. These were their properties, tabu, sickness causing knots, snakes, trees, flowers.

Tauasa was a priest of Te Langapa. When he came from Wale to Motu Ko, he looked, there the *fanga* fish lay, they were cooked. He took them, ate them. The *taiva*, the *nate*, the *manini*—all the fish had been cooked, they were grilled by his god. That was his power of his magic.

This was another: the treating of sickness. If it was a broken arm, he tapped it with his hand, it was all right. If a broken leg, he touched it with the hand, well. If an injured eye, he touched it, well. If an aching stomach, he hit it, well. There was no medicine which he prepared for drinking. It was only his hand. That is all.

8. Waliga. Waliga was a man of Loto. Ngaliyeyen was his god. His magic power was fire. He did not extinguish the fire. It simply burned thus. If the fire went out, his power was lost. The sick people would gather at his house. He would pray to his god. Indeed all the sick people became well. These were the various illnesses. The person obsessed by a spirit would be cured. The person with the very bad illness (swollen parts) would be well. The person whose sickness was shortness of breath would be cured. All the sicknesses absolutely would be cured. Similarly with the small fish, the *malamila*, the *eve*, the *wasi hava*, the *uo*, the *haiowa*, the *atule*: when he clapped, the small fish rushed to him. There: that was his magic. That is all.

751 Certain afflictions are treated by the application of embrocations or by internal medicines. The use of medicines is always accompanied by a tapu against the eating of fish until the sickness is completely cured. The tapu applies whether the disease treated is consumption or filaria. No rationalization could be given to account for the incompatibility of fish diet with medicines, but the rule is always rigidly enforced. To yield to a temptation to eat fish during convalescence is to cause a relapse.

No record remains of old-time postures or practices in the drinking of medicines. It is possible that formerly special rules governed the collecting of herbs for medicinal purposes, but this is only a vague memory today.

754 The following remedies for various illnesses used by Pau are probably
751 generally followed by other practitioners, but each medical man today has his own trade secrets which he jealously guards:

Boils and inflammations. Scrape the bark off the roots of the *tuvaalowako* plant. Mix the bark with grated dried coconut; then stir in a little coconut liquid. Apply the
751 medicine as a poultice (*tuvau*) to the inflammation, cover with leaves and allow to
278 remain thus overnight. In the morning, the boil will have come to a head. Tear off the top of the boil with the fingers and drain off the pus. Dress the sore with juice squeezed from the pounded stalk or leaves of the *tuvaalowako* plant and cover with leaves to protect from cold and insects.

Constipation. Express the oil from the grated, dried coconut, add an equal amount of heated drinking-nut liquid, and allow the patient to drink about one-half pint of this at a time. If necessary, follow up with another purgative composed of grated drinking nut flesh mixed with equal amounts of *lolo* cream. Amount of any medicine was judged by the eye. A coconut shell served as container. The *otaota* was not used.

Consumption (*mahi tatale*, wasting-away sickness). Express the oil from grated dried coconut and mix with an equal amount of heated drinking-nut liquid. Let the patient drink about one-half pint of this medicine (which acts as a violent purgative. Follow up with a second medicine: grate the edible husk from the top of any coconut, add water, and squeeze out the liquid from the flesh. Let the patient drink two or three swallows of this liquid twice each day. Diet is especially important in cases of consump-

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

be names of these moons, but it is a matter impossible to decide today. The names of the nights of the moon are:

1. Koa makatia e te la: (the moon is) thrown out by the sun.
2. Po wakaata: making shadows of the night.
3. Po puta: the night is spotted.
4. Po lua: the second night.
5. Po tolu: the third night.
6. Po wa: the fourth night.
7. Po lima: the fifth night.
8. Koa tuu te maina: the moon is erect, or stands high.
9. Koa ita wenua: the land is divided into two (by the moon?).
10. Koa te mai loa ki luuga te maina: the moon is on high.
11. Koa ngalue te maina: the moon moves (higher).
12. Koa wolo te maina: the moon is big.
13. Koa wolo loa te maina: the moon is very big.
14. Koa momona te maina: the moon is fat.
15. Koa maliko te maina: the moon shines or glimmers.
16. Koa wakaulu te maina: the moon is overhead.
17. Koa yengie te maina: ? (refers to the night when the crabs mate).
18. Te lama yengi: the yellow light, or the yellow torch.
19. Te tuaki lua pouli: the first-born of the group of dark nights.
20. Wakatai: to make the first dark night.
21. Wakalua: to make the second dark night.
22. Wakatolu: to make the third dark night.
23. Lama wakatau: the (time for) torch fishing is equal (to the length of moonlight).
24. Koa loa te po: the night is long.
25. Koa ngalue ki ngake: (the moon) moves to the east.
26. Koa walai loa ki ngake: (the moon) tilts well to the east.
27. Koa lauliliki loa: (the moon) is very small.
28. Koa wakatau wenaku ma te uiu o te ata matua: (the moon) rises at the same time as the darkness before dawn.
29. Koa wakatau wenaku ma te ata maoa: (the moon) rises just at the first streaks of gray dawn.
30. Koa wenaku ma te ata loma: (the moon) rises just at gray dawn.
[31. Koa wakatau wenaku ma te la: (the moon) rises with the sun.]

ASTRONOMY

Pukapukan study of the heavens seems to have been governed by the use of the stars and planets as guides for seasonal and fishing changes and the use of the stars as guides for long sea voyages. With the decadence of sea voyaging, much of the old-time lore fell into disuse and was lost. Puyaka, the great expert in star lore at the time of Tuiva committed suicide and took with him to his grave much esoteric star lore. Informants were sure that Pukapukan knowledge of the stars is today but a remnant of former knowledge. The younger men now know only a few star names, some of which they can not even identify. The legend of Maui (1) accounts for the way in which Maui's stars were placed in the sky. Maui was later asked by the gods to count all the stars, a feat which he accomplished. Beyond this, informants could say nothing about the origin of stars.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukan

TRADITIONAL HISTORY

ORIGIN

114
173
173

Two previous accounts of the origin and traditional history of Pukapuka have appeared. One was written in 1877 in the Rarotongan language, probably by a Rarotongan native missionary in Pukapuka and recorded by Gill (13). The other was recorded in Rarotongan by Ula, the father of one of our best informants, Pau, and collected by Hutchin (18), who visited the island in 1904. Though incoherent and scrappy, probably because they were hurriedly written, these accounts give details which confirm the material that I collected where it is possible to equate names. Little information about traditional history has apparently been lost in the intervening years. The origin of Pukapuka is related in the following account:

539

E tolu kakao mai lalo o te papa o te moana. Kakao loa, kakao mai loa ki luga. Tupu loa ki te wolo.

Ko tela atua nei, ko Tamayei, e atua tela yau mai Tonga; no Tonga i a Tamayei. Yia loa i a Tonga e Mani Potiki. Wuwuti loa, wuwuti loa, ma te tautapa ki a Mani Mua ma Mani Loto, "Onoonowiake taku ika nei, pewea?" Ko kiluliko i a Mani Potiki e tasa ika ia. Wuwuti loa i a Mani Potiki. Wuwuti loa ma te valovalo ki a Mani Mua, "Onoonowiake, pewea taku ika nei?" Koa tipi te ika, tipi ki te toe kaokao, tipi ki te toe kaokao. Koa pau te kawa lunga, koa pau te wuwuti ki loto o te vaka ma te wuwuti a Mani Potiki.

Oko loa ki te kawalalo a Mani ma te talatala i a Mani ki a Mani Mua ma Mani Loto, "Taku ika nei e yaya tiua, no?" ma te wuwuti a Mani Potiki. Wuwuti ki lunga, wuwuti ki lunga. Tauvalo loa i a Mani Potiki, "Onoonowia te pepalangi, koa lele na vave o te ika." Onoono i a Mani Mua, e ulu lakau tela. Kaka loa i a Mani Mua,

"Wooo, e wenua te nea nei." Wuwuti loa ki lunga, koa oko ki te konga o tana ika. Kakalo atu latou, koa kakao mai te toe konga o te ulu lakau. Kakao oki te toe konga. Kakao oki te toe konga. Wuwuti la, wuwuti la, oko ki lunga. Iti loa te vaka ki lunga. E wenua pe te ika ya wuwuti e Mani. Ko Tonga tela wenua. Koa pau ki luga te wenua.

A rock came up from below the rock-bottom of the sea. It came up, came up on top. It grew to be large.

This god, Tamayei, was a god, this one, who came from Tonga; from Tonga was Tamayei. Tonga was fished up by Mani Potiki. He pulled up, pulled up, appealing to Mani Mua and Mani Loto, "Look here, what is my fish?" Mani Potiki was being mightily resisted by his fish. Mani Potiki pulled in. He pulled in, calling to Mani Mua, "Look here, what is my fish?" The fish was pulling, pulling to one side, pulling to the other side. The top line was finished, finished pulling inside the canoe, by the pulling of Mani Potiki.

The lower line of Mani was reached, with Mani saying to Mani Mua and Mani Loto, "My fish here is a *yaya* *ulua*, isn't it?" with Mani Potiki pulling up. He pulled up, pulled up. Mani Potiki called out, "Look at the horizon, the strengths of the fish fly." Mani Mua looked, these were tree tops, Mani Mua shouted,

"Wo! This is an island." He pulled up, reached the place of his fishhook. They looked; another part of the tree-tops was appearing. Another part still appeared. And another part appeared. He pulled up, pulled up, reached the top. The canoe rocked on top. The fish pulled in by Mani was indeed an island. Tonga is that island. The island floats on top.

1. [See category 539 or 116--analyst.]

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

539 Yau loa Te Atua Vasiua ki a Mataliki. Talatala loa ki ai, "Wano kow alusa e wawine ma koe. Tela te lunga ka wano ai koe; wano ki Tongalelava, wano koe ki a Te Alo Talanga. Koiai taua tauawine. Ko te wawine ia ka mamai e koe, oai wawine ma koe; ko Te Vaopupu te ingoa o te tauawine." Wano loa i a Mataliki, wano loa, wano loa, e, olo kiai. Ulu atu ki te wawine ma talatala mai i a Te Atua Vasiua. Kitea loa e Mataliki. Tango loa i a Mataliki i te tauawine ia, mamai loa ki Te Ulu o Te Watu na tupu ai i a Mataliki.

Nono ai te tokalua, nono ai, nono ai, e, loa loa te vala. Yapu loa i a Te Vaopupu. Wanau loa, to loa te taua, e tamatane, ko Tumulivaka te ingoa. Popoke oki wakawou, te oki; e tauawine, ko Te Matakiate te ingoa. E taotai no Tumulivaka. Nono loa te tokawe. Nono ai ma te onoono i a Tumulivaka ki te waiwai a Mataliki. Kou opoopo i te wai ana ki ona tawa. Onooto loa i a Tumulivaka, ka kavea te wenua e Mataliki ki te wai nana. Lili loa i a Tumulivaka. Aka loa i te wenua, moto. Teka i a Mataliki ma Te Vaopupu ki te kaainga ki lalo. Teka i a Tumulivaka ma Te Matakiate ke te matii wenua. Oti ai. Tawanga kaua loa tamaliki; tawanga loa matuatua. Oti ai te tala o te tupuanga o te wenua.

The god Vasiua came to Mataliki. He said to him, "You go to seek a wife for yourself. This is the place you shall go; go to Tongalelava. Go to Te Alo Talanga. There is his daughter. That woman you will bring back to be a wife for you; Te Vaopupu is the name of the girl." Mataliki went, he went, went, e-e-e-, arrived there. He looked for the girl mentioned to him by the god Vasiua. She was seen by Mataliki. Mataliki took that girl, brought her back to the Head of the Rock which had grown Mataliki.

The two lived on, lived on, lived on, e-e-e-; a long time it was. Te Vaopupu became pregnant. She gave birth to a child, the child was born, a male child, Tumulivaka was his name. She swelled again, gave birth, also, a girl child; Te Matakiate was her name. She was a younger sister of Tumulivaka. The group of four lived on. They lived on with Tumulivaka watching the doings of Mataliki. He was gathering the many gods at his side. Tumulivaka watched. Mataliki was going to give the island to the many gods. Tumulivaka got angry. He stamped on the island; it broke in two. Mataliki and Te Vaopupu moved to the western side. Tumulivaka and Te Matakiate moved to the eastern side of the island. That was over. The two children mated and had offspring; the two parents had offspring. Finished is the story of the origin of the island.

123 173 It is evident from this origin story and from the genealogy (table 4, p. 241) that the mythical establishment of the population of Pukapuka came about through brother-sister marriages and close kin inter-marriage. The two children of Mataliki, Punga and Punga Momoto, are apparently introduced into the genealogy to account for the origin of the maternal lineages. Nothing more is heard of Te Vaopupu; unlike her daughter, she does not seem to have become a goddess.

173 The genealogy (table 4, p. 241) gives a total of 22 generations from Mataliki to the present day. Following the accepted practice of allowing 25 years to a generation, a practice which seems to err greatly on the liberal side, for stoll life at any rate, the founding of Pukapuka is set about 550 years ago. But this figure does not allow for the indeterminate number of years after the time of Wuse and the seismic wave; a generation or more may have passed at this time without leaving any record. Confirmation of this is

1. [See category 173 or 116 — analyst]

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

173 given in informant's statement that Wangum, who caused much of the trouble at this time, was but a small child when Wue sailed away on his voyages, and that she gained power later when people were not sure whether Wue's son was going to return to Pukapuka to succeed his father or was going to live for the rest of his life in the land of Witi. (See p. 242 for other opinions.) Wue's son finally died in Witi (Fiji?) without succeeding to the title held by his father. Another period that is not allowed for in this count of generations is the period of Tuiva's regency between the twelfth and thirteenth chiefs. This probably lasted 20 or more years. Taking into consideration these two periods, about two generations, it would seem that Pukapukan history goes back in time about 600 years. The catastrophic seismic wave which overwhelmed the atoll occurred on this time-scale about 13 generations ago. Other genealogies place the occasion for this wave at 11 or 12 generations back. Allowing again for the regency of Tuiva, it must have occurred about 350 years ago.

Pukapukan traditional history before the seismic wave (*te mate uga*, the great death) is concerned primarily with the following: voyages away, from Pukapuka by Pukapukan navigators, the arrival in Pukapuka of migrants or visitors from the Tokelau Islands, a mass migration of settlers from a land called Yayake, further invaders from a land called Tongalelava, contact between Pukapuka and Nassau Island, and the events that led up to the seismic wave. Accounts of canoe voyages away from Pukapuka to Tonga, Niue, the Tokelau Islands, the Gilbert Islands, the Equatorial Islands, and Manihiki are left for separate consideration because they do not add anything to the traditional account of the development of Pukapuka. Further stories about historic characters whose activities are incidental to the main story are left for separate narration also (1).

PERIOD BEFORE THE WAVE

Immigrants

The first canoe whose arrival in Pukapuka is remembered came from the west, probably from the Tokelau Islands, a long time before the seismic wave. It was probably a drift canoe, because it contained only one man named Te Mutu, a priest. The canoe landed at the reef channel, later called Te Ava-Mutu. Te Mutu settled down at the place in Loto called Utiiti and built there a sacred enclosure. Many years later he built a new canoe and sailed away again from Pukapuka, never to return. He is remembered by the reef channel name, by the name of his enclosure, and by frequent references in chants.

173 Two accounts of the migration to Pukapuka of many people (*tini*, "more
173 than a thousand") from the land of Yayake were obtained. This migration

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukan

173 occurred before the wave, but the chief at the time is forgotten. It is likely
173 that it was during the reign of Kanoka or before. The translation of the
173 textual account follows:

THE REVENGE (LITERALLY, THE OVEN) OF TWO GIRLS

6'39 They were from Tonga. There were their two brothers: Manawuwa and Tangaloa.
173 The two girls went to Yayaka. They climbed up at Na Tua-wawwa. They chanted. The island listened to the beauty of their voices. They went through the land to (the chief) Tuyimata. (The people) were lifted up to the place to be made merry by the two girls. Tuyimata was placed below. Above were the two girls. They had climbed up on Na Tua-wawwa. "O Tuyimata, just look upward." Tuyimata looked up. The two girls fell down. Both were killed.

The night darkened. The two spirits went to Tonga to the place where were their two brothers, Manawuwa and Tangaloa. They climbed up on to the platform of the house. They, the spirits, cried: "We have both been killed." Their two brothers asked, "One left? All? None left? Both finished?" That was over. Their two brothers arose, girt on their malos, seized their weapons, launched the canoe, climbed in. They paddled to Yayaka. Before their going they had already fought with Tokaipolo and Taupolou.

Arrived at Yayaka, they burned Na Tua-wawwa. Finished, they went to the copulating places. There were the copulating places (yau): Polike, Niutao, Tuna, Tapungaya. First to the yau of Polike; they fought with Polike, struck Polike dead. They also struck down all the people. They went to the yau of Niutao, fought with Niutao, struck Niutao dead. They also destroyed his yau completely. They went to the yau of Tuna, fought with Tuna, struck Tuna dead, ravaged his yau. They went to the yau of Tapungaya, fought with Tapungaya, struck Tapungaya dead, destroyed his yau completely. They ravaged the entire island.

Tokaipolo and Taupolou heard of this. The two of them came. They (four) met again. Tokaipolo and Taupolou spoke, "We can not fight, we have already fought in Tonga." We shall sail away."

The people of Yayaka sailed away. Some thousands went to some islands, other thousands to other islands. The group in which were Tokaipolo and Taupolou came to Pukapuka. They came to the south, where is the islet, Ko. They landed at Te Aumalou. Taupolou and Tokaipolo talked, "Let us stay close to this island. Yayaka is a bad-mouthed island. From early times the mouth of Yayaka has been spoken of. We two shall break with Yayaka so that we are completely apart." They went to the back of the island to the west of which Matawou is the name.

The large group stayed there at Te Aumalou. They developed work. These were their works they developed: digging out talo beds, digging wells, and planting coconut trees.

There was born Te Vave-au-ta-i-Te-Aumalou (The Warrior-born-at-Te-Aumalou), a male child.

This was his peculiar characteristic, he flew on high like a bird. He had no wings. This was his nature: when he flew above, he would go to the sea to catch mating turtles, to catch schools of bonito, to catch schools of albacore, to bring back to the group of the weary Yayaka people for them to eat. This was their further activity, making talo puddings (*likelike*) and decayed coconut (*yasi*).

There developed a grudge on the part of one woman from having received an unjustly small share of the food. Kauawawine was her name. She went to Matautu, covered her head with a basket. She swam across the water to Matawou. She spoke to Tokaipolo and Taupolou. This was her betrayal, "You two, you watch out with your ignorance. Why, there's a warrior who has grown, a strong one who flies above. This

[1] It was suggested that they knew the Tongans were too strong for them.

539
123

is his other characteristic, he goes to the sea, catches turtles, brings back bonito, brings back albacore." Tokaipole asked, "Is that so?"

Tokaipole arose, took his spear, hurled it up to the sky so that it would be seen by Taupeiua who was at sea, who was fishing. Taupeiua looked there, the spear of Tokaipole was flashing. He said to his sailors, "What is it with my man that he hurls his spear? We shall go to the shore. There is probably something that has happened." They (the crew) came back to the shore, where Kamuwawine was staying.

The two asked, "What is the nature of that strong man? Is his height like that of this black tern?" Kamuwawine protested, "No, it is higher." They looked out, "Is it like that of that ghost tern?" Kamuwawine protested, "No". They watched the tern which flew very high. The women said, "Yes, like that." Tokaipole seized the spear, hurled it, so that it reached the tern. Finished, they struck the woman dead. This is the reason they killed that woman, that she might not return again and tell their words.

They stayed on. Arrived at another day, they went to seek their strategy by which Te Vave-na-wanau-i-Te-Aumaloa would die. They saw their method. This was their method: an outrigger. They waited for a zesty day, pounding thunder, flashing lightning, rain. Finished. They went to press the outrigger on and so suffocate the group of the many Yayake people who had multiplied well. They killed starting from the road of Matiku. They reached the Iri-i-Mawake. The outrigger was broken there by one strong man. A child had also cried out, "Give me my food." No, indeed, that was a warning signal. The warrior who had broken the outrigger arose, "Wo! Yayake, danger!" The people woke up.

Tokaipole and Taupeiua went on to Te Vave-na-wanau-i-Te-Aumaloa. They were seen by him. He flew above. Tokaipole and Taupeiua chased him. Te Vave turned, he was going to fly to the other islands. He was made to return by the power of the goddess Tuna. Te-Vave-na-wanau-i-Te-Aumaloa flew along, flew over the outer reef. Tokaipole and Taupeiua chased him from below. They thrust their spears, they did not reach up, were too low. They reached the place, the Alai-ei-Palaua. Palaua said to Taupeiua and Tokaipole, "Come, he's a bad one, this man flies above." Tokaipole and Taupeiua said, "Here in us is your lifesaver." Te Vave-na-wanau-i-Te-Aumaloa flew, reached the sea at the channel, was going to fly to the north. The spear of Taupeiua shot out, straight to the ankle. Te Vave-na-wanau-i-Te-Aumaloa fell down.

The people gathered there. They spoke, "What is the reason that this man flew? Just split him open." They opened him, he had eight hearts. They gave him the name Wate-manave-mai (Many-hearts). They also gave the name to the place where he fell. Wakamaue-a-te-tokalua (Bird-feather-of-the-two). They took Many-hearts and buried him at the channel. It is finished.

[123]

A second account gives other details about the extermination of the Yayake people at Te Aumaloa:

The Tongan warriors cut down big logs of *puka* wood and went to the Yayake village in the middle of the night. It was the custom of the Yayake people to sleep in open-sided houses, a line of people together, their heads resting on a long log serving as a pillow. The Tongans came to each house, placed the log quietly on the line of necks, and then by pressing hard at one end of the log they suffocated between the upper and lower logs all the people resting in the house. They continued killing until they came to the last house, where a child suffering from a nightmare kept calling to its mother, "E matua, aumai ake nau he yamoyamo ai au" (Mother, bring me my things—food—that I may eat). The cries of this child woke the people of the house so that they were awake when the Tongans appeared outside. When the log was placed on their necks, one man jumped up and broke it in two. He alarmed the rest of the people, and all ran off to separate directions. The Tongans and their supporters chased them till dawn. At daylight they came on Te Vave resting on his stone couch or bench (*reke-wakaga*) on the outer beach. They rushed to surround him, but he rose into the air and flew off down the reef. The account of his death follows the preceding account.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukan

173 The Tongans continued to hunt down the survivors of the Yayake people. They warned the Pukapukans on Wale that the Yayake people were bad and vicious of tongue, so the Pukapukans gathered together the Yayake people, who came to Wale, took them to a space near the cemetery of i Tua in Loto village, and killed them all. A big gravé (*lua*) was dug and all the bodies were thrown in. This place is known today as Te-lua-o-Yayake. Watu-manava-mi was buried on the outer beach by the reserve of Niua. The seismic wave swept away his grave and his bones, and nothing remains of him on Pukapuka today. The site of his stone bench is still pointed out on the outer beach of Motu Ko. The original stone bench was destroyed generations ago. Another was built in about the same place, but this too is in ruins; only a few fragments of stone scattered on the beach remain as mute evidence of the place where the "bird man" was wont to cool himself in the evening breezes. Tokaipole was buried on the boundary between Loto and Yato, close to the cemetery of Tua lineage. Taupeloa was buried on the boundary between Loto and Ngake, east of the main village road.

Only one person, a woman named Kaui, is remembered to have survived the extermination of the Yayake people; she died soon after without leaving issue. The wretchedness of her existence on the reef rocks, intensified by the death of her Pukapukan lover, is the theme of a popular story fragment.

173 Some time after the extermination of the people from Yayake, another
173 canoe came to Pukapuka. It was a big double canoe (*toulua*) with a crew of 300 men; its owner and captain was Luaivaipapa, a warrior (*toa*) said to have been 10 fathoms tall. His crew were all at least 5 fathoms tall. The canoe came from Tongaleleva, a land to the north of Pukapuka, because to reach it from Pukapuka navigators sailed with the south (*tua*) wind dead astern. The name refers perhaps to one of the Equatorial Islands. The story of how this canoe came to Pukapuka was told by informant Pau after discussing it with other men:

539 At the time of the seventh chief, Kaiuea, there were two chiefs in Yayake, both
173 possessed of special magical powers. The first chief was called Tuyiyaaola; the second, Tuyimata. Whenever Tuyimata looked on a person or animal or insect, the power of his gaze killed the creature. It was he who killed the two Tongan sisters in the account given above of the Yayake people. Tuyiyaaola had the power of resurrecting life. Whenever he looked on a dying thing or person, life came back again; and in the land of Yayake a dying person was always brought to him to be given new life. Tuyiyaaola also had at his command a very powerful magic which could reach over the ocean, even as far as Pukapuka or Uvea. He heard of a very beautiful woman in Pukapuka and he desired her. He put some of his semen into the half of a coconut shell, covered the shell with another half shell, and set it adrift in the sea. The shell drifted over the ocean and came to rest on the beach in front of Loto village. The woman whom he desired lived close by. She felt a power inside her. She walked to the beach and found there a covered shell. She picked it up, took it back to her house and hid it. In the middle of the night, when all were asleep, she opened the shell and found the semen inside it. She rubbed the semen over her body and felt a longing for Tuyiyaaola. The

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

come together at their peaks to form a sort of arch or tunnel through which canoes may sail. On another occasion a warrior from Yayake named Te Palo visited Pukapuka where he introduced the four-sided gaff sail that is known by his name.

It seems impossible to decide to what land, if any, of the Pacific the word Yayake refers. The cognate Samoan word *sasa'e* refers to the east, though the Pukapukan word for this direction is *ngake*. Informants today state that Yayake refers to Tahiti, though they admit that this has been suggested to them by visitors. Another word Yayake may either mean a land to the east of Pukapuka or a land from which one sailed east to reach Pukapuka. The matter may be left until further accounts of canoe voyages away from Pukapuka have been given.

Some time after the defeat of the Tongalelevans a canoe came to Pukapuka from the Tokelau Islands:

> The captain of the canoe was Te Amu; other members of the crew were Kavalele, Kualeu, Tapotoa, and a man whose name has been forgotten. All five were medicine men (*kau uvuvotu*). This canoe landed at the channel on the west side of the atoll. The passage made by Te Mutu had been quite straight and therefore dangerous because the tidal currents ripped out through it strongly. The newcomers curved the channel and thereby slowed down the current to make a safer passage through the reef. The Tokelau men brought with them a dried medicinal plant (*lenga*) somewhat similar to a red ginger plant. It was hung from the roof of the house by a sennit string. The perfumed, thick, red oil that exuded from the plant was used by the Tokelau men as a principal ingredient in their medicines. This plant never grew in Pukapuka.
>
> Besides their skill as medicine men, the strangers possessed other, more magical powers: they could see across the ocean to the Tokelau Islands; they had the power of transporting their bodies to the reserves, leaving only their shadows behind on Wale, and this they did when they wished to steal food from the reserves without allowing anyone to know that they had committed theft. Little is known of their stay on Pukapuka. The men did not settle down or marry Pukapukan women. They left and went back to their home islands. There is a house site in Loto known as Kualeu and another place called Pupuya (Scent—of *lenga*), and by these two names their visit is remembered today.

Contact with Nassau

In the time of Kulusa and Wue, seventh and eighth chiefs, close contact was maintained between Pukapuka and the island of Nassau, 40 miles southeast. The Pukapukans believe that they own this island and give the following accounts:

> Ngalewu was a Pukapukan man who was put in charge of Nassau by the god Matalihi. Hence the saying "Na tai o Ngalewu" applied to a fair wind and calm sea on the south and east sides of Wale, the implication being that Ngalewu controlled the wind and sea of this part of the atoll from his strategic position on Nassau. Tima was a warrior who came to Pukapuka from the land called Aitutaki. He sailed on to Nassau but Ngalewu saw him and chased him away. Tima came to the submerged reef that runs west from the atoll but Ngalewu chased him from this place also, so Tima went back to Aitutaki after giving his name to the reef, Te Toka-o-Tima. The name of Nassau at this time was Te Nuku-o-Ngalewu. Some people from Pukapuka

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

were settled on the island as a sort of permanent colony, while others went back and forth between Wale and Nassau.

Contact between the two islands stopped at the time when the conflict between the gods made sea travel dangerous, and the island gained the name Te Motu-ngaongao (Deserted Island). Occasional fishing trips were made to Nassau up to the time of white contact, though the permanent settlement died out.

Pukapukan laborers working on the coconut plantation at Nassau in recent times have found stone adzes and pearl-shell breast ornaments, the latter of authentic Pukapukan design, in an old grave uncovered by the tidal wave in 1914. The people of Pukapuka hope that a long-deferred sitting of the Land Court will hand them back control of Nassau.

One popular legend of the contact between Nassau and Pukapuka tells of visits to Nassau for sports and fishing by a group of people calling themselves Na Tini (The Many ?). It was Kuinaloa, one of this group, who moved the rock from the reef channel on Nassau that the Pukapukan canoes might make this channel in safety. Unfortunately, the gods placed the rock back again after the canoes left, a fact which makes landing at Nassau difficult to this day.

The following account gives details of a return trip from Nassau to Pukapuka, and of Kuinaloa and his father, Tautuna:

Kuinaloa, a man of great strength, had a fit of temper and refused to paddle the canoe or help to navigate it. His father saw this and, realizing that his son might take offense if he chided him, he asked his son-in-law, Tōtuinga, to remonstrate with Kuinaloa privately and persuade him to paddle. Tōtuinga did this, but Kuinaloa objected to being considered lazy. He became more out of temper still and said, "Do you order me to paddle this canoe? I will show you how I do it then." Kuinaloa took his paddle, dipped it into the water, and with two powerful strokes sent the canoe surging forward with such violence that the outrigger was raised from the water and the canoe capsized. Tautuna was furious with his son's display. He called out, "You should not have done this. I am a priest, and you have broken the rule against capsizing the canoe of a priest. This will bring bad luck to me, and I will be punished by the gods for the sacrilege." Kuinaloa did not reply. The canoe was soon righted, bailed out, and the journey to Pukapuka made in safety.

Some time after, Tautuna was banished from Pukapuka for being a man of superhuman powers. He left his son behind him and sailed with his crew. When he was far from land, his god, Te Alongaoa, decided to punish him for the desecration of the canoe above-mentioned. Te Alongaoa did not plan to destroy the canoe, only to punish Tautuna mildly. The god therefore sent a small whirlwind to overthrow the canoe, tip Tautuna into the water, and make his stores so wet that the remainder of the voyage would be unbearable. Tautuna and his men were in the water bailing the canoe, preparatory to climbing into it again, when the god Talitongauaku noticed them. Talitongauaku was at war with Te Alongaoa, whom he thought to injure by killing his priest. So Talitongauaku ordered his spirits to gather together the sharks round the canoe. The sharks came together and began to devour Tautuna and his men. Too late, Te Alongaoa saw this and rushed all his own fish up to fight off the sharks; but it was no use; all the crew were eaten. Te Alongaoa swore to punish the god Talitongauaku by killing the next adherent of this god he saw on the ocean. The spirits of the dead men returned to Pukapuka and told their relatives in a dream what had happened to them.

Kuinaloa was so fat when he died that after burial his body fat melted away with the heat of the ground and flowed underground from his grave into the lagoon and onto

2: Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans
539, 773

[Information in this source which is either inadequate, incorrect or duplication has only been filed in category 116: for mythology, see pp. 8 - 9.]

2:Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans

000 she spoke could fly as high as the bird sitting there. She replied that he could fly higher. Then the chief took his spear and hurled it into the air. "Can Manava Nui fly as high as that?" he asked.

The other chief, who was fishing on the reef behind the islet, saw the spear in the air and ran to his home, and learned the news that the woman had brought to them. They called the woman ashore and killed her, lest she return to her people and tell them that the two chiefs were aware of their intentions.

That night they crossed with their followers to the first settlement of the Eaki. It was the custom of all the Eaki to sleep side by side, using a long log as a pillow. The two chiefs carried a second log to where the Eaki were sleeping and crushed their heads between the two logs. They went on to the other settlement of the Eaki and attempted to kill them in the same way. These people all chanted as they slept. The chiefs dropped a log on the heads of these people also, but a strong man (*toa*) hurled it off, shouting "*Tuki pou!*" (Strike the post!) The people sleeping with him leaped to their feet and ran to Pukapuka Islet along the low stretches of coral which surround the lagoon. It was a stormy night with thunder and lightning. Manava Nui was sitting in one of his stone seats, watching the sea. When he heard his people crying out and running away, he followed them, flying above the reef. The two chiefs pursued him, hurling their spears into the air to prevent his coming ashore. At the passage in the reef at Pukapuka Islet, Taupeloa and Tokaipole speared Manava Nui to death as he was flying to the reef to rest. They rushed to the village and told the Pukapuka people the murderous plan of the Eaki. The Pukapuka people turned on the Eaki and slew them all as they came along the reef from Motu Ko to Pukapuka Islet. After burying the bodies in a single pit, they went out on the reef and dragged ashore the body of Manava Nui; and when they cut him open, they discovered that he had eight hearts.

Manava Nui was buried at a point where the boundaries of the three sections of the village meet. When the two chiefs died later, Tokaipole was buried between Loto and Iaki sections and Taupeloa, between Loto and Ngaki sections. Two ancient graves on these boundaries are pointed out as the burial sites of these heroes.

Frisbie (2) translates Manava-Nui as "Stout-Hearted" or "Many Stomachs." He describes the grave of Manava Nui as 16 feet long and 5 feet wide. The headstone is chiseled to represent a bird, and four large slabs are placed on either side of it for his eight fabulous "stomachs".

●773 539 The story of the wrestling of the gods Te Akuaku and Ngaliieieu is told.

Te Akuaku was a god of Akalava [Mangaia?] who traveled to Tonga, where he found all the gods gathered for a wrestling tournament. Te Akuaku wore the rainbow as a wrestler's malo around his waist, and around his shoulders he wore the rays of the sun. When he approached and challenged the others to wrestle, all the gods stood back, frightened by the brilliance of this stranger. Finding that no one would accept his challenge, Te Akuaku left Tonga and journeyed to Samoa. As he came to shore, he looked down into

2:Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans

the water and saw a black god living beneath a rock called Papa. This god living under the water was Ngaliieieu. He rose out of the water when he saw the brilliant god above him and challenged him to wrestle. Te Akuaku grasped Ngaliieieu and attempted to throw him beyond the sea so that he would be lost forever. But two birds belonging to the god of the sea flew to him and held his leg so securely to the reef that Te Akuaku could not move him any farther. At last Te Akuaku gave up and dropped his opponent into the water. Ngaliieieu immediately arose and tried to throw Te Akuaku over the ocean. A long combat followed, but Ngaliieieu could do no better with his opponent. Two worms came to the assistance of Te Akuaku and held him to the reef so that Ngaliieieu could not throw him over the sea. Ngaliieieu gave in and released his foe, and the contest became a draw. Because of the inability of either to overcome the other, the two gods became firm friends (*'oa*) and set out together for Pukapuka, where they settled down to live.

LAND DIVISION AND UTILIZATION

VILLAGE

The village on Pukapuka Islet is divided into four sections belonging to three groups of people.

The western or leeward section, Iato, is separated from the remainder of the village by a shallow cove. From Iato a causeway built of coral blocks leads to Loto, the central section, and a road continues eastward to Ngaki, the third, or windward, section. In 1914 a great tidal wave flooded part of the Loto section and destroyed the ancient causeway, which has since been rebuilt. The people who had lived in the flooded part rebuilt their houses at the eastern end of the village, which now constitutes a fourth section. Although the natives have boundaries marking the divisions of Loto and Ngaki, there is no interval without houses. A pathway, which in modern times has been neatly curbed with low coral slabs, runs from the landing beach on the southwestern shore of the islet and through the three sections to the southeastern shore. A branch crosses the lower extension of the taro pits and continues to the meeting house and the home of the Resident Agent. From these main pathways numerous bypaths lead through the village and into the taro patches and coconut plantations behind.

The church is situated in Loto, the center of the village (fig. 1). In front of the church is a large village green (marae) of Samoan type, where the people gather for festivals and exhibitions. Quadrangles edged with curbings of coral slabs, the sites of ancient maraes which were reserved for religious ceremonies, are still to be seen in

773 [For stories about the culture hero Te Palo, see pp. 43-45, 75-76; for stories about semi-culture heroes, see pp. 63-70; for nature stories about animals explaining their physical characteristics, see pp. 31-34, category 116 or 539--analyst].

538 native classification is not here followed.
301 The motif of "threes" appears in all stories whether mythical or historical. Thus Tamayei flies three times to Pukapuka from Tonga in the form of a bird before he sees the head of the stone appearing above the water. Lingutaimoa calls her lost pet manini fish three times, then she calls for a wave to take her to the horizon: the first and second waves are not good, but the third wave bears her to her destination. The use of this "three" motif together with other types of repetition serves as a technical device to heighten suspense, increase the dramatic qualities of a narrative and produce an exciting climax.

538 Infrequent occurrences of the motif of animal transformation are found in the folktales and stories of gods' contact with humans. The god Tamayei comes to Pukapuka twice as a bird, the third times as a god. The children of Punga and Punga Momoto are transformed into land animals and sea animals. Leiakunavai is transformed into a rat because her children insist on bringing her husband back to her island. The god Nagliyeyeu transforms himself into a bird in order to seduce a woman, and in another story of Ngaliyeyeu and his friend the god Te Awuawu, birds transform themselves into men in order to assist a canoe crew from Loto to steal nuts from Motu Kotawa. A final case of transformation occurs in the story of Vaetuaniu where a spirit becomes a log in order to drift to an island of children. This completes the examples of transformation, whether animal or otherwise;
[171] it is evident that the motif is not as common in Pukapukan stories as it is in other parts of Polynesia. Only a few stories are told in which all the characters are animals. That such stories are found in Pukapuka is further indication of the western Polynesian phrasing of the culture.

Myths

773 The myths of Pukapuka are few in number. They concern the lifting up of the sky; the pulling up of the land of Tonga by Maui; the testing Maui by the gods; the naming and coloring of the fishes by Maui, Yina, and a third culture hero, Walomate; other fragmentary stories of the goddess Yina; a fragment about the discovery of fire by Maulkatoto [see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 97, category 773, 539 or 116 --analyst.] said to be unrelated to the better known Polynesian hero Maui Potiki; and finally the story of Lata. These stories help to explain natural phenomena. They link up with the stories of the origin of Pukapuka [see 1: Beaglehole and

773 Beaglehole, pp. 375-377, category 539 or 116--analyst.] and the origin of the maternal moieties [see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 222-223, category 539 or 116--analyst.] Geographical features of Pukapuka are explained in the origin story. Tumulivaka made the taro beds by stamping his angry
773 feet on the ground. A variant account explains the atoll's
103 old name, Te Ulu-o-te-Watu (Head-of-the-Stone): When the gods were building up the stone (the island), they made the navel of the land at the place called Te Yalo in the middle of the reserve of Uta. Its two legs are the reserves Ko and Kotawa. As their work was interrupted by Mataliki, the gods had no time to make the arms, eyes, or the rest of the anatomy. Hence the name, Head-of-the-Stone, because only the head (plus feet) of the stone body was completed.

Raising of the Sky

773 The first myth, the story of Lu and the raising of the sky, is said by some informants to tell of happenings in the land of Yamoa (Samoa) when all the inhabitants of that land were gods.

539 The sky was quite low down and stuck to the earth. The gods were groping about. They cried out for one to raise the sky so that they might be able to sit and stand upright. The god Vaelua crawled to the land of Tongaleleva, there to ask Lu, a tall god with a large body, originally from the distant land of Aolako, to come to Yamoa and raise the sky. Lu arrived with his two friends, Pingao and Yaloa. The two friends raised up one side of the sky and the three gods crawled underneath it as far as the center. They raised the sky a little, but the gods of Yamoa were dissatisfied. Lu turned on his side, raising the sky higher, but the gods were again dissatisfied. Lu turned over on his belly, rested both arms on the ground and pushed himself into a sitting position. The gods were satisfied for the moment as they walked about but they soon asked Lu to raise the sky higher. Lu knelt on his knees while Pingao and Yaloa spread out the sky evenly, tearing it apart from the earth in those places where it was stuck. The gods asked for the sky to be higher still. Lu stood up on his feet, then on tiptoe,. and finally stretched his arms above his head, pushing the sky higher until it stuck above the earth. Thus the sky was separated from the earth and the gods of Yamoa made happy.

Maui Cycle

773 Among the gods who were relieved from distress when Lu
171 raised up the sky were the three Maui brothers. The Pukapukan

773/171 story of how Maui Potiki went fishing with his brothers and fished up the land of Tonga follows the general pattern of the widespread Polynesian narrative, in which Maui Potiki is generally held in contempt by his two elder brothers, only to succeed in the end by making the brothers look ridiculous. Nothing is known in Pukapuka of Maui's parentage. The Pukapukan narrative includes an account of the naming of certain stars, the origin of taro and pulaka, the dispersal of the gods from Tonga which resulted in the discovery of Pukapuka by Tamayei and the settlement there of many of the dispersed gods. The story was written by Talainga. For the names of the Pukapukan fishes mentioned and the fishing method used by the three brothers, see [I Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 64-65. category 116--analyst.]

539 Ko te wanongo o Maui ma:
Ko Maui Mua, ma Maui Loto ma Maui Potiki. Talatala loa i a Maui Mua ma Maui Loto, ka wo laua wangota. Tapena loa a laua penupemu. Kakole la i a Maui Potiki, "Ka wo la kolua wangota? Ka tatou mo ka wo?" Kakole la lua ona taina ia, "Ka yau wua koe ki te kakole, wakala ma te la? Koa koe iloa la e te yi ika? E yi oki la au kawa?" Kakole la i a Maui Potiki, "E kole la, ke wengatu wua au i muli o kolua, ke onoono wuake i a kolua yinga. Aumai la e kawa maku ke wakamatautau ake ai au e te yi ika." Kakole i a Maui Mua ma Maui Loto, "I a ngakaumate, e wai kawa i ana! te kawa ka wakalavea. Ke lavea io mo makai loa koe i te moana." Totoko loa i a Maui Potiki, "E kole lava, ko tatou lava ka wo. Tapena kolua e

The story of Maui and the others:
There were Maui Mua (the first), Maui Loto (the middle), and Maui Potiki (the baby). Maui Mua and Maui Loto talked, they were going fishing. They prepared their gear. Maui Potiki protested, "Are you two going fishing? We are all going, aren't we?" His two brothers objected, "Are you going to come just for nothing, merely to expose yourself to the sun? Do you know how to fish? Besides, have you any line?" Maui Potiki insisted, "No, just let me go (along) behind you two that I may watch your fishing. Bring a line for me that I may practic e at fishing." Maui Mua and Maui Loto were scornful, "The cheeky fellow, he take a line! The line will get caught on a rock. If it caught on a rock, you'd throw it into the sea, wouldn't you?" Maui Potiki was stubborn, "No indeed, the three of us shall go. You two prepare a line for me, and a hook." His two brothers

539 The Pukapukan story of the testing of Maui Potiki by the
773 gods is a fragment apparently not well known elsewhere.

The gods became tired of Maui's perpetual boasting after he had fished up Tonga and decided to show him that he was not so smart as he thought himself. The gods tested Maui first with string figures, making in turn a series of string figures which Maui was asked to name. Maui was successful in naming all the figures that the gods could make. Then a god held up two pieces of inter-connected coconut leaflet and asked Maui to disconnect the pieces without tearing. (1) Maui searched his brain for the answer to the puzzle. He could not solve it. He drew the attention of the god to a bird flying high in the sky and as the god looked Maui quickly tore the puzzle apart and then, hiding the torn ends in his hand, held up the two pieces of leaflet as if he had won the test. But the god was not deceived. When he insisted that Maui oper wide his hands it was evident that the puzzle was indeed torn apart, not solved, by Maui.

Then in turn, Maui counted all the coral stones, all the stars in the sky, all the strands of hair on the heads of the gods, all the trees in the land, all the fish in the sea and many other things. Finally the gods asked Maui to count all the waves in the sea. Maui counted and counted, but the waves never ceased rolling towards him. Maui was nonplussed. The waves simply kept on increasing. Maui was made dizzy by his efforts at counting and in the end had to admit that this was the thing he was quite unable to do.

Naming of the Stars and Fishes

Maui was the one who first named all the fishes as the gods sent them one by one up to the reef where Maui stood. After Maui's time some of his fish names were forgotten, some were misused, and certain gods took the liberty of renaming others with their own names. There was much confusion in Pukapuka, the more so because Maui's names were taken from the language of the gods and were thus not easily remembered by the people. A man by the name of Walemate decided to name the fish and those stars intimately connected with the habits of fish.

1. This coconut leaflet puzzle that Maui could not solve is described in [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole pp. 212-213, category 116--analyst].

539 Walemate was a wise man with learning like that of Maui.
173 He named all the fish, one by one, the fish of the sea, the fish of the lagoon. When he had used up all his names, one fish remained over. The gods asked its name, and Walemate named it "The fish of Walemate", thus establishing his fame for all times. His fish names have been known to the many generations of Pukapukans from the early times reaching down to the present day. Walemate also pointed out the many constellations of the sky, Mataliki and Tolu, Te Toloa and Te Manu, Melemele and Tokiva, and the many other stars that are watched now to determine when the fish are with roe. (2) Walemate also distinguished the hard-blowing winds, the easterly winds, the changing winds that bring the flying fish to the reef after the morning rising of the Pleiades.

The Yina Cycle

Three stories are known of the woman or goddess Yina. One tells the way in which the fish received their distinctive colorations and markings. The other two stories are fragments of a bigger cycle and bear out the contention of informants' that many stories about Yina have been forgotten today.

Yina was a woman of Pukapuka. In her time all the fish were pure white, there were none black, blue, red or multi-colored. One day when she was menstruating, Yina stood on the seaward side of the reef. She called the fish to her by rubbing together the backs of two Tridacna shells to make a grating noise and then throwing the two shells to the sea bottom. The fish answered the call thinking Yina had food for them. The lengi fish came first. Yina grasped it with her hands. The fish squirmed and wriggled to escape, but before it got away from her hands it had received two longitudinal scratches from her finger nails, a red mark on one side of its body, a green mark on the other. The bonito was similarly scratched with a dark stripe. The malau and the lali fish were both stained red with the blood that came from their anal openings after Yina had inserted into and withdrawn her hand from this opening. The wangamoana fish was stained bright red from swimming through the waters onto which Yina's menstrual blood dripped. One hungry fish, the taotaoama, tried to

2. Identification of these star names is given in [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, pp. 349-351, category 116--analyst].

539 swallow Yina's coconut husk menstrual pad which had fallen
773 into the water, but the pad lodged in the throat and gills of this fish and has stayed there to this day. Thus when a taotaoama fish is caught one finds in its throat a sort of fungoid growth called te pulu o Yina (husk fibers of Yina), a remembrance of the hunger of the ancestor of the taotaoma fish. All the other fish of the sea, the manini, the tawa, the ngatau, the tiwitiwi and many others were striped in different ways by the scratching fingers of Yina. Yina tore in two the tail of the whale and this has remained splayed to this day.

At this time also all fish had small stones in their heads instead of brains. From each fish Yina removed the stone and inserted in its place some grey clam flesh. This gave the fish more understanding, making it easier for them to understand Pukapukan fishing calls and thus more ready to come to the fisherman when he needed them for food.

The second story of the goddess simply states that she made a visit to the moon though how she got there or what the pur-
[821] pose of her visit, no one knows. But today if one looks at the moon, one may see in it a picture of Yina. She is kneeling before a hearth stone on which she holds a Pandanus fruit key. In her uplifted hand she holds a striking stone with which she is about to crush the key and extract therefrom its kernel. Now when adults and children crack open a Pandanus key they think of Yina mirrored in the moon showing them how to do it.

The third story tells how Yina went for a ride on the back of a turtle. She took for her lunch some coconuts. The turtle took her to visit many lands. Yina became hungry and cast about for a way to open a nut. She decided to hammer it open on the head of the turtle, though the turtle had previously warned her against this. When the nut was hammered on its head, the turtle became angry. It sounded and said that in the future, whenever it saw human beings, it would always sound and in this way avoid them. Yina jumped off its back and swam back to Pukapuka. The turtle before this had always been a surface living animal, but for the cruelty of Yina it would remain so today. Now that the turtle has learned to sound it is much more difficult to catch and dangerous also, because it may drag down and drown a man whom it has caught with its flippers before sounding.

Lingutaimoa and her pet fish

The story of Lingutaimoa tells indirectly how eclipses of the sun and moon occur.

Lingutaimoa was a woman of Loto. When the manini tauila (seasonal manini fish) came to Pukapuka, she happened to catch

530 773 one alive and she decided to keep it as a pet. She put the manini in a coconut shell, filled the shell with fresh salt water every day, and fed the fish. She taught the manini to answer to a chanted call whenever she had food for it. Soon the manini grew too big for the shell, so she transferred it to a bowl. The manini grew still bigger, so she transferred it to a big hole that she dug near the beach. The manini grew bigger, and the hole became too small. Thereupon she carried the fish to a pool in the coral of the reef. The manini grew more, so she carried it to the lagoon itself, and when the fish grew too big for the lagoon, she finally took it to the ocean. Every day she went to feed the fish, and she called it with the following incantation:

Manini, manini, tipatipa mai tai. (3)	Manini, manini, turn on your side from the sea.
Tai yau tu, yau ta, wakayongi tai kia manini.	Come in, go back (she) smells (greets) the manini.
Taketakea kia manini.	(She) pats the manini.

Lingutaimoa fed the manini for many months. One day, however, the people of the heaven called Te tea-no-te-langi (Fair-people-of-the-sky), looked down to earth and saw this manini. They thought it was fat and eatable. So, while the woman was out getting food, they baited a hook and dropped it down from the sky and hauled up the fish.

The old lady came along the reef chanting her call, to feed her fish at the usual hour. The fish did not appear. She called a second time, but no fish appeared. She chanted a third time, but still no fish. She walked up and down the reef chanting and searching, but there was no sign of the fish. Then she made a vow that she would never cease her efforts until she revenged the death of her pet fish. Next morning she went to the reef and called up a wave to come to her. This was her call:

Te ngalu tua, te ngalu alo	The ocean wave, the lagoon wave
E ngalu tu ai te nuanua, e ngalu taia a Maui.	A wave standing to the rainbow, a wave sent by Maui.

The first wave that came to her was not good enough. The second was bad also, but the third wave was a good one, so

3. The manini is a big fish and hence must turn on its side if it is to swim inshore and be fed in shallow water.

539 she embarked on it and was quickly taken to the horizon. When
773 she got there, she clung to the horizon as the wave went past,
[821] and easily clambered up to the sky. In the sky she went round inquiring as to her manini. People said the Fair-people must have killed it. Coming to their land in the sky she found traces of blood which she knew to be manini blood. It was this blood that got smeared over the sun and the moon when the manini was killed, and which causes to this day eclipses of the sun and of the moon. Then she came to the Fair-people and found bones of her manini. She met the chief's assistant of the Fair-people, and he admitted that he had received the cheek bone of the manini. So she killed him. Then she went on and found the chief of the Fair-people. He said he had been given the gills and stomach of the fish as was his chiefly share. So she killed him too. And she killed all the people who had eaten of her fish. This finished, her revenge was complete. She went to the horizon and called up another wave to take her back to Pukapuka.

The following chant refers to this story of Lingutaimoa:

Na ai te pu e tangi nei? (4) na te tukipo, te tuki yami,	Whose the trumpet sounding? Of the warning cry, the cry for coconut food,
Yuyu mata tiloia e Lingutaimoa, koa lili vaka, koa ita vaka i tana manini	Wet eye straight gazing of Lingutaimoa, full of anger(she), anger for her manini
Koia yele to kei te tai, to kele, kele, kele,	Noosed, dropped to the sea, dropped struggling
Tiale ti, tiale ta, tiale kaina e te Tea	Flower picked, flower killed, flower eaten by the Tea people.

[173] The reference to the Fair-people-of-the-sky is the only one in Pukapukan traditions or stories to such people. Informants could give no details about them other than what is known from this story. It is likely, however, that the reference represents a memory in tradition of the fair skinned, chestnut-haired people one of the racial strains that is reported in the population of other islands of Polynesia.

4. The reference is to the Yayake warning cry in the traditional account of the killing of the Yayake people on Motu Ko. [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, pp. 380, category 116--analyst].

539 He sailed away and visited other lands, but of his further adventures in these countries, the people of Pukapuka have no story.

Stories about Gods

538 773 A large number of Pukapukan tales concern the activities of gods, more especially in their relations to human beings. A few stories of this class, however, refer to the interrelations of the gods themselves. Mention has already been made of the fighting between Te Awuawu, Ngaliyeyeu, Te Alangaoa and Te Atua Vaelua, the four gods who cause the winds and of the manner in which these four drew the god Kanitika from the sun because he was making the days too hot [see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 311-312, category 776 or 116--analyst.] A third story which tells of a series of contests between Te Awuawu and Ngaliyeyeu, follows:

Of Te Awuawu and Ngaliyeyeu

539 Te Awuawu was a god of the island of Wakalava and Ngaliyeyeu was a god from Tonga. The two gods set out from their home lands to enjoy a series of shoulder pushing contests (lukipoko) with the gods of the other island groups of Yiva, Yayake, Motulau and Samoa. The two gods met in Pukapuka and pushed against each other to determine superiority. In the first contest honors were even, but in the second Te Awuawu was pushed over. The two gods became firm friends and then decided on a competition to determine who could cohabit with the greatest number of Pukapukan women. Under cover of night they crawled into the houses cohabiting with many girls before the night became light. Thus they continued until the twentieth night when they met to consider the results of their night prowling. Ngaliyeyeu retired from the contest and Te Awuawu said he was tired of the sport. When each counted the women he had enjoyed (literally, counted his fishhooks), Te Awuawu was well ahead.

There was one difficult woman, Mulitauyakana, whom Ngaliyeyeu desired. One day she went to the back of the island to defecate. While squatting she looked up to see a bird scratching and pecking at her kilt which she had left on the sand. Mulitauyakana ran to drive away the bird, but the bird seized her and then transformed itself into Ngaliyeyeu. The two cohabited but Ngaliyeyeu was dissatisfied with his conquest. He expressed his disappointment; "So this is the stubborn woman I have desired so greatly! She is a horrible woman not worth the trouble of desire."

[A variant of this story relates that the bird was really an

539 strike Mokoyikungavali dead unless he vomited up their daughter. The cannibal vomited and vomited until he had spewed forth the body of the daughter, but Yina was indeed dead, her skin burnt from her body by the heat inside the ogre's stomach. Then the parents grew angry at the sight of their dead daughter. They picked up stones and pounded Mokoyikungavali until he was dead.

Of Lua-tulivae

Mangaiwouwou was a man who joined in a fight and was badly injured. The back of his head was broken and his two lungs pierced. The only parts of his body unscathed were his buttocks and knees. He crawled from the fight on his kneecaps and came to his house. His wife and children heated water to massage his knees. They did this for many days until teeth finally grew from his kneecaps. Then Mangaiwouwou, or Lua-tulivae (Two-knees), as he came to be called, chased his wife and children in order that he might catch and eat them. The wife and children built five bonfires and set them burning. Lua-tulivae came hurrying along in pursuit and fell over the first fire. He rolled from it burnt, but not dead. He rolled over the second fire and his skin was burnt from his body, he was limp but not dead. He fell on the third fire and all the teeth were burnt from his knees. On the fourth fire he was scorched and sizzling. On the fifth fire he was burnt dead.

His wife and children were indifferent to his fate. It merely serves the shark right, they said, because he would have eaten us had he caught us.

The Cycle of Te Palo

538 A series of five stories is told about Te Palo, culture hero
173 from the land of Yayake. Three of these concern his exploits with man-eating demons, two are semi-historical and concern the visits of Te Palo to Pukapuka and his encounter with the Pukapukan hero Te Nana in Yayake.

Te Palo and the Demon Crab

539 Te-unga-tupua (Demon-crab) was a man-eating creature who lived in a hole in the land of Yayake. The people of Yayake were worried at the depredations of this creature so they decided to kill it. They went to the place where Te-unga-tupua lived and built close by ten huge rubbish piles. Te Palo boldly walked before the hole of the creature and attracted him to the open, then towards the place where were the rubbish piles. So intent was

539 of Tua. Their god was Ngaliyeyeu. They were troublesome priests and man-eaters. One day when they were walking on the reef they came upon a priest named Pulekava. This man was spearing malatea fish. The priests wished to kill Pulekava with their own fish spears but Pulekava saw them coming. He prayed to his god Vaelua for strength and then challenged Witielo and Witilangi in such a determined fashion that the two man-eaters were frightened and hurried on their way.

Witielo and Witilangi took to their canoe and paddled further along the reef until they came to the place where a priest of the god Te Laupapa, a man named Malowou, was fishing. The men beached their canoe and hurried towards Malowou but Te Laupapa set their canoe adrift. The men hastened back to rescue their drifting canoe. A second time they advanced towards Malowou and a second time their canoe was set drifting by the god. Again they hastened back to salvage it and this time Witilangi stayed to guard it while Witielo rushed to spear Malowou. Malowou had a netful of manini tauila fish which he hurled in the face of the advancing priest. The spikey fins stuck in Witielo's face. He squirmed with pain and fled back to the canoe where he told Witilangi to try to kill Malowou while he guarded the canoe. Witilangi rushed forward confidently but he too was met with a netful of manini fish. Screaming with pain he ran to the canoe. The two priests decided to drop their attack. They decided that Malowou was helped by a powerful god against whom it would be impossible to tilt. They paddled back home and Malowou was saved.

Te Atua-pule

538 773 The last story of this series concerns the killing of Te-Atua-pula, the man-eater god, by two Pukapukan men, Wotoa and Te Yoa; the two brothers who had previously made the visit to the Underworld, [see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 326-329, category 539 or 116--analyst.] Because of their undoubted powers as priests, they were called upon to deal with the cannibal god. Another version relates that the reason the two brothers were anxious to kill the cannibal was because he had previously eaten Te Yoa's wife when she had incautiously strayed too near its hole. The reference to the sacred foot of Te Yoa is obscure. The second account merely states that women nearby saw the two heroes were being dragged in the hole of the god and cried out to them to stiffen their legs, plant their feet securely against a rock and use this pressure

538 as a support to exert all their strength. The place where this
773 god had its hiding hole, Te-lua-no-te-atua-ngutu-uli (Hole-of-the-black-mouthed-god), is still pointed out; all that remains is a depression in the ground.

539 Te Atua-pule lived inside his hole. He would stick his head outside the hole and watch people going by. If the people went in pairs or groups, Te Atua-pula would not distrub them. If a single person wandered by, the man-eater would attract him to his hole and then when he dropped inside Te Atua-pule would eat him.

His habits became known to the people and they all asked Wotoa and Te Yoa to kill the man-eater. These two decided to try. They came near the hole and rattled there strings of Conus shells. When Te Atua-pule poked his head outside the two men hid and when Te Atua-pule withdrew into his hole, then the men stood up and rattled the shells again. Gradually the men came nearer the hole. At last, when Te Atua-pule looked forth, Wotoa seized the head and tried to pull the man-eater into the open. But instead Wotoa was being pulled into the hole. Te Yoa grasped his malo and the two men pulled mightily. Both the man-eater and the men became furious with anger. In the struggle Te Atua-pule broke loose and came again to attack. A woman standing some distance off watching the struggle saw the peril of the two men. She called to Te Yoa, telling him to raise his sacred foot. Te Yoa did as he was bid and Te Atua-pule fell over, but before the men could jump on him he slipped into the sea and came up in Samoa. He was lost from Pukapuka forever, but he lived as a man-eater in Samoa where he gained the name of Te Atua-ngutu-uli (Black-mouthed-god).

Stories about historical personages

538 The remaining stories deal with historical characters. They
173 fall naturally into six classes: stories of love, of adultery and its punishment, of thieving and its punishment, of revenge for insult of homicide, stories of historical personages who have become invested with much of the aura of culture heroes, and finally stories of voyaging Pukapukans. Though some of the stories are slight, they contain valuable information on social customs and structure; all were considered by informants worthy of telling. They constitute the background for much of everyday conversational reference.

Stories of Love

538 Stories and anecodotes coming within this category serve

539 lineage of Palakula would be wiped out collectively in punishment for this death. The high chief came for his revenge. He insisted on death or exile. Palakula and his lineage chose exile. They prepared their double canoes, bequeathed their properties to groups that remained and sailed to the Matoyia ocean. None has heard of them since and they were all eaten by sharks it is thought.

The making of culture heroes

538 773 The following group of stories defies any simple classification. The first story recounts the testing of the chief Tuliayanga by the gods.

Of Tuliayanga

539 The gods were annoyed with Tuliayanga's boasts of his prowess as a netter of flying fish and decided to put his powers to the test. Tuliayanga went fishing one night with a fleet of flying fish canoes. The gods arranged for one flying fish (malolo) to fly straight through the air to the chief's eye, while another fish was to go through the air, aiming directly for his testicles. The gods thought that if the chief was not so skilled with the use of the net as he thought, he would be confused by the two fish and suffer serious injury through failure to net them. When the canoes were over the flying fish shoal, the two fish flew through the air in the direction of Tuliayanga. Many men tried to net them but failed. The chief was quicker than the others and with a double sweep of his net caught both fish before they touched him. The gods then conceded he had a right to boast of his skill.

Pakula

The story of Pakula illustrates the dangers besetting the bonito fishing canoe. Pakula lived five generations after the [181] seismic wave. An interesting example of cultural psychology is the first remark of Pakula on escaping death and safely landing on Motu Kotawa. The implication clearly is: now we have been saved from death, we can get back to the real business of living once more.

Pakula was a man of Matanga lineage. He was charged with fishing for the group of old men. He and his crew went fishing one day. Coming back to the reef the waves were breaking so furiously that his crew were afraid to attempt the passage. Pakula poked fun at their fears and the canoe was sent whirling onward. Overtaken by a wave, the canoe was smashed and the men thrown into the water. Then was the time for the crew to taunt Pakula for his rashness.

539 his older friend. Suddenly a flash of lightning came and Malangatiale was struck dead. (13)

When the crews recovered from their fright they laid out Malangatiale nicely on his canoe and chanted their way over the eastern sea to Motu Ko. Here they gathered floral decorations of plants, ferns and creepers, wrapping Malangatiale in the greenery. They made smooth a place on the outrigger booms and laid the dead body down. Launching the canoes once more the crews chanted their way back to the reef passage and through the lagoon channels. Their bowsmen stood and flashed their wet paddles in the sunlight. The people on shore watched intently, wondering and waiting. Then when the canoes, dark with greenery, were beached, the landshells buzzed with the news. The people were told of the sin of quarreling for which Malangatiale died. They took his body and buried him in the cemetery of his paternal lineage.

Kui and his Heirs

538 773 The stories of Kui, Uyo, Waletiale, and Te Wai are connected in that Kui is supposed to be the progenitor whether spiritual or physical is not clear--of the other three semi-culture heroes. It was Kui who performed the test of lifting all the leaves from the prone body of the chief Kamola [see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 240-242, category 773 or 116--analyst.] His feat demonstrated that he was a man of supernormal powers who should therefore be exiled from the atoll. Accordingly he was asked to build a canoe and sail away to the western horizon. The story of his further adventures follows:

539 Kui left Pukapuka in a single outrigger canoe with his two sons, Matiku-uli (Black-heron) and Matiku-kena (White-heron). The three sailed westward over the wide ocean for a long time, for so long that the outrigger rotted from being so long in the sea and separated from the crossbooms. The canoe capsized. The three were thrown into the water, but Kui took the boom and the mast, lashed the sail vertically to his left shoulder, and the mast vertically to his right shoulder. Matiku-uli perched on the right-shoulder mast, and Matiku-kena perched on the left shoulder as Kui swam. He swam for so long that Matiku-uli died of thirst and hunger. Kui embraced the boy and let him fall into the sea. Kui kept on swimming.

13. Malangatiale later became an ancestor god by the mechanism noted in [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, pp. 313-314, category 116--analyst].

Function

533 Of two general functions of the composition and reciting of
173 chants, one is directly sociological in that the chants, by their
773 extreme use of allusive reference, serve as a sort of memo-
183 randum of significant events chronicled in full in the history and traditions of the group. A name reference in a chant to an historical or mythical character, or to a legendary land, calls to mind in very few words a whole cycle of stories connected with the subject mentioned. The chants do not take the place of traditions, but for the Pukapukans they are an indispensible method of cataloguing the body of traditions and passing these on to a younger generation. The chants cannot be understood without the background of knowledge which is the history and traditions of the people. The chants themselves also constitute a check on the validity of old customs and incidents when they are challenged today. Anyone who can support his statement by quoting lines which establish the existence of a custom from a recognizably old and well known chant has won his case. Absence of reference in old chants constitutes sufficient evidence of the non-existence or non-occurrence of a custom or incident. When he suggested that the explorer Mahuta had come to Pukapuka on a visit from Tongareva, the proponent of this theory was asked by other informants to quote a chant in proof of his statement. As he was unable by this means to prove his point, the general consensus was that he had learned of Mahuta on a visit to Tongareva and had become confused in his traditional history of Pukapuka. Even a casual reading of the chants will indicate their richness of reference to old-time social customs. From discussion of these references with informants, much material was collected that had a direct bearing upon all aspects of native Pukapukan culture.

533 Besides their sociological function, the chants have a direct
154 psychological function in the life of the people. Their com-
578 position and recitation provide a channelizing of emotion that might otherwise break out in less desirable, even anti-social ways. Sentiments of aggression in the individual and in groups of individuals are given an outlet in the taunting and boasting chants, and pass off in a great burst of harmless energy instead of banking up and flooding through channels of violence and homicide. This is a very necessary safeguard to develop in a small closely confined community, the culture patterns of which are strongly extraverted and set a premium on vigorous energetic unconfined displays of behavior. It is not unreasonable to correlate the small amount of actual warfare and violence in Pukapukan history with the extreme development of the practice of composing and singing chants which

128 different for the Pukapukan from the weighting of the same
533 words for the Western European. A word that is neutral, that
192 has no overtones of meaning or emotion for the Pukapukan may have many overtones for the average European, and more specific overtones for the individual European. To translate freely the many references in the chants to activities associated with sexual intercourse would give an entirely false idea of one of the most characteristic features of Pukapukan culture. To translate them accurately, is to impinge on the innumerable emotional overtones which swell and eddy about the ideas of these activities in the mind of the average European; this again gives a false idea of Pukapukan realism because these words, activities, and concepts are on an average neutral words for the Pukapukan, weighted down by few overtones. Their familiarity to, and use by, the most immature child is certain proof of this. Professional conscience has dictated that the following translations err on the side of accuracy. They can only present a near approach to the ideals of Pukapukan culture if the problem of relative weighting of words is kept severely to the fore.

Chant for a Sacred Maid (1)

539 Yakili ipo au mai Loto	I searched for a sweetheart in Loto
Ki te leleinga o Te Tokolangi,	One with the beauty of the flowers of Tokolangi Islet, (2)
Koa wakina au, utangia ki lunga o te vaka o Tona ma Taea.	The flowers that I picked and loaded onto the canoes of Tona and Taea.
Toku yana e atule tauila	My beloved is as a young atule fish

1. This chant is of the type called kupu. It was composed about a hundred years ago, by a man whose name is not remembered, for Muluka, second daughter of the high chief Kaiti of Loto village. The fancy of the composer compares the girl to a mayakitanga, sacred maid, a position held by her older sister. The sacred maid was, by virtue of the sheltered life she led, the island's beauty. For a description of the status and functions of the sacred maid see [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, pp. 237-239, category 116--analyst.]

[773] 2. Legendary land at the edge of the sky, discovered by the voyagers Tonu and Taea and famed for the beauty of its flowers. See[1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, p. 401, category 116--analyst].

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

the reef. The sea was covered with oil for many days and perfectly calm. The people could not understand this, so they dug up the ground and, by following the oil seepage, came to the grave of Kuialaloa, which they found still full of oil.

THE SEISMIC WAVE

Tradition states that directly preceding the seismic wave came a period of license in which the people of the island, led by the woman Wanguna, became blasphemous and gave themselves to sexual license in order that their tricks and their violation of tapus, as the legend somewhat quaintly puts it, would gain them fame in the future ("Wai ai latou tionga ma latou waka-matanga ke yi o latou longo ki tupua").

The people broke the tapus on the reserve lands, desecrated the sacred religious enclosures, and turned them to unsacred purposes (*lepu*). The institution of the copulation group (*ati* or *you*) was developed to a high degree of organization and the people gave themselves over entirely to licentious living. Wanguna herself—ambitious, nymphomaniac, and a sorceress—is reported to have been a woman of gigantic proportions. A man who wished to have intercourse with her had to hollow out the ground that she might lie reasonably level with the ground. The men she craved accommodated her for a time, but soon became tired of her insatiable appetite. All left her but one man named Takalenga, but he too soon went, and when Wanguna saw that other women had lovers while she had none, her desire turned to anger against the people she had led astray. She prayed to the gods of her lineage, Te Atua Vaelua and Te Mangamanga, to punish the people, but the gods delayed their answer. Then one night, desecration reached a climax. The people came back from the reserves and in a wild spirit of recklessness they tore up the gravestones and leveled the stones of the religious structures. All the gods had to take notice of this new outrage and sent the wave to sweep away everything on the island—people, houses, and property. The people looked at the night: thunder was pounding, lightning was striking, the wind was blowing from all directions. Waters raged on the reefs, the sea was constantly rising, the tree tops were bending low. On the next day all the island was broken and everything destroyed. Wanguna and another woman named Tuki took refuge on hillocks in the talo beds of Uta, hillocks that are still called Te Motu-o-Wanguna and Te Motu-o-Tuki. These two women avoided being swept away, and when the anger of the waves was finished, the sea gentle and the reefs low, of the original population only these two women and fifteen men with remnants of their families survived. The names of some of these men are remembered: Te Moana, his son Te Ingoa, Te Longoke, Malowou, Te Woalu-unga-mamao, Matakoa, and Ulo, all of the Muliwutu lineage; Te Kula of Matanga lineage; four men of the Loto lineages of Tua and Yangalipule; and three men of the three Yato lineages. From this little group of people the island was gradually repopulated.

PERIOD AFTER THE WAVE

Rehabilitation

Nothing is known about the time of Te Kula, ninth chief, though it was presumably one of great hardship for the survivors of the wave. The time of Maina, tenth chief, is reckoned to have been a peaceful one (*e vaia wakamoemoe*). Both he and his executive officer (*wola'*), a man named Te Kale, were concerned to husband food supplies and population so that one would not outstrip the other. The population was still small. Maina decreed

11: Hutchin M-2 (1904) 1904 Pukapukans

173

TRADITIONS AND SOME WORDS OF THE LANGUAGE OF DANGER OR PUKAPUKA ISLAND.

By the Rev. J. J. K. Hutchin.

IN the month of May, 1904, accompanied by Lieut-Col. Gudgeon, C.M.G., I paid a visit to Danger Island, recently annexed to the Colony of New Zealand. It is a solitary atoll more than seven hundred miles to the north-west of Rarotonga, with a population of nearly five hundred people. Only one vessel has visited the Island since the visit of the s.s. "John Williams" in October, 1903. Owing perhaps to their want of communication with the outside world the majority of the people seem somewhat duller in intellect than the other Northern Islanders. One of the most intelligent of the natives is a man named Ura, and during our short stay there I gleaned the following information from him.

"Bukabuka was a rock in the ocean. A god named Tamaye watched the rock, and thought it to be of no use whatever. The rock, however, burst asunder, and a man appeared. He looked about him, and there was hardly standing room. He accordingly made the land of Bukabuka, and he was the ancestor of the people. His name was Uyo. His wife came from Tonga, and her name was Te Vao-pupu. Their son was named Tu-muri-vaka, and their daughter was named Te Mata-kiete.

In very ancient times two warriors came from Tonga, one was named Tokai-pore, and the other Taupe-roe, and they settled the people in three districts, one was called Avarua or Kotiporo, another Te Awea (*v* pronounced like *w*) or Pana-uri, and the third Taka-numi or Ure-kava. In those days the *kumara*, the sugar cane, and arrow-root grew on this Island. (The *kumara* plant flourishes now but has no tubers; the sugar cane grows when planted in the *taro* patches, but there is no arrowroot there at the present time).

They went to many lands in ancient times. Their warriors went to the east and west, but not to the north or south. The people went from Bukabuka (its ancient name was Nukuroa) to Samoa, to Niué,

U: Hutchin M-2 (1904) 1904 -Pukapukans

173 539 723

and other lands as Manihiki and Penrhyn Island (Tongareva). A number of people under a warrior went to Islands called Maunga-niui pronounced Maunga-wiwi). The people there were like the Chinese (in colour). The land farthest to the westward which their ancestor visited was called Tekumatanau; the land farthest to the eastward which they visited was called Yiliavari. At that land their ancestors saw some big land monsters which were called *ngolo*. A warrior from Bukabuka went to a land called Vetuna, where these monsters were. The people tried to kill him and his parents; and to show his strength he seized one of these monsters (*ngolo*) and tore it in halves; and the people of that land were then afraid of him.

Their ancient name for Tahiti and the surrounding Islands, and Rarotonga and the surrounding Islands was Yaiake. Rarotonga was a mountain of Yaiake. There were two Arikis there who quarrelled, one was named Turi-ranova, and the other Tuyi-mate. When they quarrelled the land was divided, and Rarotonga was carried to the south; hence the name Rarotonga, that is Tonga to the west, because it was once located further to the east.

In ancient times Nukuroa (*i.e.* Bukabuka) was a much bigger land, and there were many more people than there are now, but there was a deluge, which swallowed up a great part of the land and of the people. The deluge came because of the wickedness of the people, and because of their impiety towards the gods. Some, who called upon their family gods were saved by them, and others who were dead were brought to life by their gods. The daughter of the king in those days stirred up the people to acts of wickedness and impiety. Her name was Anuna.

The people reckon their descent from the mother's side. The tribe which is the most ancient (probably the first settlers) was called Te Ua-turu, and they are descended from an ancestress called Te Raio. The second tribe (in point of ancient descent) is called Te Mango. The third tribe is called Te Uira, and the fourth tribe Te Kati. There are a number of sub-tribes, but these four are the most important tribes of Bukabuka."

At the close of Ura's narrative in Rarotonga will be found a list of Bukabukan words with their Rarotongan and English equivalents.

12: Gill M-2 (1877) 1912 Pukapukans

[TRANSLATION OF No. 23.]

A WORD ABOUT THE ORIGINAL INHABITANTS OF PUKAPUKA ISLAND.

[Pukapuka (or Danger) is one of a group of three small islands, about latitude 11° S., and longitude 166° W., now forming part of the Cook Island Administration. The group lies north-east from Samoa, at about 430 miles distant therefrom. Its position will be seen on our Sketch Chart, Vol. XX., p. 116, of this 'Journal.' In the same 'Journal,' Vol. XIII., p. 173, will be also found some brief traditions of these people, collected by the Rev. J. J. K. Hutchen, of Rarotonga, together with a short vocabulary of their dialect. The people number about 500, and are now British subjects. The original from which the following account is translated, was apparently written by one of the Rarotongan Native Missionaries to Pukapuka, and is both badly expressed and written, and, therefore, some mistakes may occur in the translation. Several Pukapuka words are indicated by italics, the meaning of which are given by the writer in Rarotongan. Several of these words are still current in New Zealand, though not in Rarotonga apparently. The part of the story about the transference of the chieftainship, is very obscure, and on that account the translation may be wrong in part. Kui's voyage to Samoa is probably historical. Kui, is usually a woman's name, but apparently here it is a man's.—EDITOR.]

October 22, 1877.

THIS is their story: It was Matariki * who made both Heaven and Earth, and he was (? represented by) a stone. He was a god,

* Matariki is the name of the Pleiades, but probably this is not intended for that constellation.

12: Gill M-2 (1877) 1912 Pukapukans

the son of Tamaei, who came from Tonga. His mother was a *vatu*, or stone. He (Matariki) made and arranged the earth and the sea.

After a time, the earth was overwhelmed by the sea. But no one (now) is able to explain this properly, that is, the accounts of the ancients, which is due to the evil and confusion of those times. But this is what they say (of their history): He (Matariki) founded the villages, named Muriutu, Matanga, Angari-pure, Akovika, Amaunga, and Arouga. It was in these places that men grew and increased to great numbers. In those days men did not die. The *ariki* (or high chief of the island) at that time was from Muriutu, and his name was Akau-te-vaka. His period was a happy and peaceful one, no cannibalism existed, nor wars. Hence was the period of Akau-te-vaka a happy one.

Time went on, until the days of Akamora, about whose period is the following history: He was detested by his people, for he was beloved by one of his grandchildren, named Akovika, a girl. He appointed her to succeed him on his death. The duties of this girl were to clean the head of the *ariki*, and pull out his grey hairs. When she had reached womanhood, the *ariki*, Akamora, delegated to her the chieftainship through the love she showed to him. Akamora said to the girl, Akovika, "Thou must take over my chieftainship." Akovika replied, "*E ke*" (which seems to express some doubt; the translation is, "It is different"), and then she went to (? consult) her parent, named Kui, who was a chief of Angari-pure and was a (? learned, or wise) man of Pukapuka.

Kui replied to his daughter, that he would take it (? the chieftainship), which caused all the people of the land to inquire (*riri*, is the Pukapuka word, said to be the same as Rarotongan *ui*, 'to ask'; but in Maori, it is 'anger,' and this seems from what follows, to be the meaning), and they consulted as to the means to kill Kui. All men agreed to this.

Men then went forth over the surface of the land to cut off heads: and the following was the arrangement: a thousand *nikau* (coconut leaves) were to be collected; all the people were to assist. One man was found, who was very able, of great strength, and a warrior, whose name was Veru. He brought one hundred *nikau* leaves at one time. And then they proceeded to make war, by preparing spears and stones.

The *ariki* Akamora had gone to the *marae* with a single *nikau* leaf in his hand to plant it in the earth in order to give authority to the appointment of his grand-daughter to the chieftainship. The men brought all the *nikau* leaves and placed them on Akamora, none fell in any other place, all were put on the *ariki*, so that they reached up to the heavens from the surface of the earth, whilst all his people collected in their proper places in the one *marae*.

Akamora, the *ariki*, had said to his grandchild when the *nikau* were placed on him, that one more should be added, and then, "My home and

12: Gill M-2 (1877) 1912 Pukapukans

773 539 193 my chieftainship are gone." Such were the words of the grandfather to his grandchild. When the time came for Kui to confirm the investiture of the chieftainship, all the (people of the) land made their offerings, each man with his weapon or spear. They all did the same. Then Kui did lance his spear, and stepped across the *marae* to the seaward side and there placed his weapon in the sea. The *marae* was thus pierced (? made sacred) and the *nikau* stabbed with his spear. The heavens were obscured by the *nikau*, at which all men were alarmed, for not a single weapon (or wood) remained on Akamora. He now went forth; for his authority had departed from him to his grandchild.

After all this, the daughter (of Kui) held the chieftainship, and the people said to Kui, "Go you to Samoa!" to which Kui assented, saying, "I will go!"

Kui now prepared his canoe for sea, and took on board his two children, named Tapeau-tane and Tapeau-vaine, and sailed away over the ocean. When they reached afar off, there was no food left on board on account of the length of their voyage, whilst the canoe filled with water. The parent sought some means by which to save his children, and made the outrigger of the canoe into bundles and fastened them on to the shoulders of his children. In consequence of the long time in the water and the want of food, Tapeau-vaine died. The parent rubbed noses with her and then cast her body away. The parent and Tapeau-tane still went on for many days, when starvation caused the death of the latter. The parent saluted the son and then cast his body off.

So Kui went on, whilst his body became covered with *tio* (someone has pencilled on the original, 'timber-worm.' *Tio*, in Maori, is an oyster—probably means here a barnacle) and then he fell to the bottom of the sea, and thus proceeded to the reef at Samoa.

When he reached Samoa, he went ashore and proceeded to steal from the rat-ovens of the Samoans, and then returned to the shore and remained there. The Samoans then proceeded to search for the thief who had stolen food from their rat-ovens. After a time a young girl went down to the sea-shore, where she found an object there; she turned it over, when the breath came out of its belly, at which she was frightened, and returned to tell the people of the land to come and see the object. All the people came down, when they seized the object, took it up and cooked it in an oven, thus died Kui. But his spirit survived, and it then made war on Samoa, killing a lot of people. After this the spirit of Kui returned and reported to all his family at Pukapuka what had happened at Samoa, and that its body had been cooked in an oven.

That is all of that story.